

DE BOW'S REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1857.

SOUTHERN THOUGHT.

Twenty years ago the South had no thought—no opinions of her own. Then she stood behind all christendom, admitted her social structure, her habits, her economy, and her industrial pursuits to be wrong, deplored them as a necessity, and begged pardon for their existence. Now she is about to lead the thought and direct the practices of christendom; for christendom sees and admits that she has acted a silly and suicidal part in abolishing African slavery—the South a wise and prudent one in retaining it. France and England, who fairly represent the whole of so-called free society, are actively engaged in the slave-trade under more odious and cruel forms than were ever known before. They must justify their practices; and, to do so, must adopt and follow Southern thought. This, of itself, would put the South at the lead of modern civilization.

In the sneering ridicule of the false and fallacious philanthropy of Lord Brougham by the London Times, the leading paper of Western Europe, we see that they are breaking ground to condemn and repudiate the “rose-water philanthropy” of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Howard, and Hannah More, that nursed scoundrels and savages at the expense of the honest, industrious, laboring whites.

The next inevitable step will be to approve and vindicate the conduct of Hercules, and Moses, and Joshua, and the discoverers and settlers of America, who have conquered, enslaved, and exterminated savages, just as fast as might be necessary to make room for free civilized whites. This is the only philosophy that can justify the subjugation of Algiers or the hundred southern conquests and annexations of England; and this philosophy is consistent with Southern thought and practices, but wholly at war with the maudlin sentimentality

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of Hannah More, Wilbeforce, and Lord Brougham. Southern thought alone can justify European practices, and Southern practices alone save Western Europe from universal famine; for cotton, sugar, rice, molasses, and other slave products are intolerably dear and intolerably scarce, and France and England must have slaves to increase their production, or starve. They have begun to follow in our wake, instead of our humbly imitating them. It is true they are still impertinent and presumptuous, and loud in their abuse of our form of slavery, whilst they are busily adopting worse forms. But the veil of hypocrisy with which they would conceal their conduct is too transparent to avail them long. Besides, they can use no arguments to justify their conduct that will not equally justify ours. In any view of the subject Southern thought and Southern example must rule the world.

The South has acted wisely and prudently, acted according to the almost universal usage of civilized mankind, and the injunctions of the Bible, and she is about to gather her reward for so doing. She flourishes like the bay tree, whilst Europe starves, and she is as remarkable for her exemption from crime as her freedom from poverty. She is by far, very far, the most prosperous and happy country in the world. Her jealous and dependent rivals have begun to imitate her. They must soon openly approve her course in order to vindicate themselves.

But there is no narrow philosophy to justify slavery. No human or divine authority to vindicate mere negro slavery as an exceptional institution. All the authority is the other way. White slavery, not black, has been the normal element of civilized society. It is true that the authorities and the philosophy which approve white slavery, are still stronger authorities in favor of negro slavery, for the principle and the practices of mankind in the general have been to make inferior races and individuals slaves to their superiors. How fortunate for the South that she has this inferior race, which enables her to make the whites a privileged class, and to exempt them from all servile, menial, and debasing employments.

But we must force the reluctant admission from Western Europe that the emancipation of the white serfs or villians was a far more cruel failure, so far as those serfs were concerned, than West India emancipations. In truth, the admission is made in fact, though not in form, in almost every review, newspaper, and work of fiction, that emanates from the press of Western Europe or our North. They concur in describing the emancipated whites as starving from year to year, and from generation to generation, whilst nobody pretends that the liberated negroes of the West Indies are starving. As for crime and ignorance, we suspect that the laboring libe-

rated poor of Western Europe may well claim to rival, if not surpass, the negroes of Jamaica. But the liberated whites work harder and cheaper as freemen, or rather as slaves to capital, than they did as serfs; and, therefore, the rich who employ them think white emancipation a successful experiment, a glorious change for the better. Because, although it starves and brings to untimely graves some half million of the laboring poor annually, it nevertheless makes labor cheaper, and increases the profits of the rich.

We despise this flood of crocodile tears which England is shedding over the free negroes of the West Indies, whilst she has not one tear to shed on account of her laboring poor at home, who are ten times worse off than the free negroes.

In the absence of negro slavery there must be white slavery, else the white laboring class are remitted to slavery to capital, which is much more cruel and exacting than domestic slavery.

Southern thought must justify the slavery principle, justify slavery as natural, normal, and necessitous. He who justifies mere negro slavery, and condemns other forms of slavery, does not think at all—no, not in the least. To prove that such men do not think, we have only to recur to the fact that they always cite the usages of antiquity and the commands of the Bible to prove that negro slavery is right. Now if these usages and commands prove anything, they prove that all kinds of slavery are right.

By Southern thought, we mean a Southern philosophy, not excuses, apologies, and palliations.

The South has much work before her, for to justify her own social system, she will have to disprove and refute the whole social, ethical, political, and economical philosophy of the day. These philosophies have grown up in societies whose social relations are different from hers, and are intended to enforce and justify those relations. They all inculcate selfishness and competition as the great duties of man, and success in getting the better of our fellow beings in the war of the wits as the chiefest, if not the only merit. The opposite or protective philosophy, which takes care of the weak whilst it governs them, is the philosophy of the South.

The free trade or competitive philosophy is an admitted failure, and most of the literature of Europe is employed in exposing and condemning it. From the writings of the socialists, (and almost everybody is a socialist in Western Europe,) we can derive both facts and arguments quite sufficient to upset the whole moral philosophy of the day. From the Bible and Aristotle we can deduce (added to our own successful experiment) quite enough to build up a new philosophy on the ruins of the present false and vicious system.

The South is fulfilling her destiny and coming up to her work beautifully. She is multiplying her academies, her colleges, and her universities, and they are all well patronised and conducted by able professors. Several of these professors have written works defending slavery with great ability, on general and scientific principles. All of them are true to Southern institutions. From these schools thousands of educated and influential men annually proceed to every quarter of the South. They will mould and control thought and opinion, whether they settle down as private citizens or become editors, lawyers, divines, or politicians.

Female schools and colleges are also rapidly increasing in numbers, and this is an important gain, for it is the mother who first affects opinions, and it is difficult in after life to get rid even of erroneous principles which have been taught by the mother in the nursery. It is not safe, wise, or prudent, to commit the education of our daughters to Northern schools, nor to female teachers brought from the North.

Fashion is one of the most powerful engines in controlling opinion, and fashion will soon cease to be borrowed from the North. Southern watering places are full to overflowing, and few go to the North to be insulted by the helps in their hotels. These Southern watering places annually bring together intelligent and influential persons from the various States of the South, who form friendships, unite various sections in stronger bonds of amity, and confirm each other in the support of Southern institutions, by comparison and concurrence of opinion. People do not like to be out of the fashion in thought any more than in dress, and hence the prevalent anti-slavery doctrines at Northern watering places, must exercise a baleful and dangerous influence on Southerners who visit them.

The educational conventions held in various parts of the South exercise a similar influence to our watering places, but a far more important and potent one, for they are attended by the ablest men in the nation, whose every day business, duty, and occupation, is to form opinion, and to inaugurate a Southern thought. The importance of these conventions in cutting us off from imitative allegiance to the North and to Europe can hardly be overrated. Nay, they will do more; they will teach our revilers to respect, admire, and imitate us, by the unanswerable facts and arguments which they will adduce to justify our institutions.

Another fact for congratulation to the South is, that our people are beginning to write books—to build up a literature of our own. This is an essential prerequisite to the establishment of independence of thought amongst us. All Northern and European books teach abolition either directly or indi-

rectly. The indirect method is more dangerous than the direct one. It consists in inculcating doctrines at war with slavery, without expressly assailing the institution. Now, all authors who write about law, religion, politics, ethics, social or political economy, if not pro-slavery men themselves, are continually inculcating doctrines accordant with their own social forms, and therefore at war with ours. Hence it follows, that all books in the whole range of moral science, if not written by Southern authors, within the last twenty or thirty years, inculcate abolition either directly or indirectly. If written before that time, even by Southern authors, they are likely to be as absurd and as dangerous as the Declaration of Independence, or the Virginia Bill of Rights.

It is all important that we should write our own books. It matters little who makes our shoes. Indeed, the South will commit a fatal blunder, if, in its haste to become nominally independent, it loses its present engines of power, and thereby ceases to be really independent. Cotton is king; and rice, sugar, Indian corn, wheat, and tobacco, are his chief ministers. It is our great agricultural surplus that gives us power, commands respect, and secures independence. The world is pinched now for agricultural products. The rebellion in India will increase the scarcity. Then, take away our surplus from the world's supply, and famine and nakedness would be the consequence. We should not jeopard this great lever of power in the haste to become, like Englishmen, shop-keepers, cobblers, and common carriers for the universe. Our present pursuits are more honorable, more lucrative, and more generative of power and independence than those we fondly aspire to. We cannot do double work. If we become a commercial and manufacturing people, we must cease to be an agricultural one, or at least we shall cease to have an agricultural surplus. We should become as feeble, as isolated and contemptible as Chinese or Japanese. Actual independence would be bartered off for formal independence, which no one would respect. An increase in our commerce and manufactures, so gradual as not to affect the amount of our agricultural surplus, would be desirable, provided that increase never extends so far as to make us a commercial and manufacturing people. That we can be all three is one of the most palpable absurdities ever conceived by the human brain. Foreigners cannot buy from us unless we buy an equivalent amount from them. If they should do so, our agricultural surplus would absorb the whole currency of the world in less than a century, and we should be oppressed with a plethora of money that would necessitate the carrying about a cart-load of silver to buy an ox.

We can afford to let foreigners be our cobblers, and carriers,

and tradesmen for a while longer, but we cannot safely delay writing our own books for an hour.

In Congress, and in the courts of Europe, in the conflict of debate, and in the war of diplomacy, Southerners have always shown themselves the equals, generally the superiors, of the first intellects of the world. This is easily accounted for.

All true power, whether in speaking, writing, or fighting, proceeds quite as much from strength of will as from power of mind or body; and no men have half the strength of will that Southerners possess. We are accustomed to command from our cradle. To command becomes a want and a necessity of our nature, and this begets that noble strength of will that nerves the mind for intellectual conflict and intellectual exertion, just as it nerves the body for physical contest. We are sure to write well, because we shall write boldly, fearlessly, and energetically.

We have already made a start. A great many Southern books have been written within the last three or four years. They are almost all distinguished by that boldness of thought, and close and energetic logic, which characterizes the Southern mind. The North surpasses us in taste and imagination, equals us in learning, but is far behind us in logic. No doubt our greater intensity of will gives us this advantage, for in no intellectual effort is force of will so absolutely necessary as in moral reasoning. It is the most difficult intellectual exercise, and therefore the most perfect self-control and self-command are required to nerve to high effort in this direction.

Several of our distinguished professors are employed in preparing school books for academies and common schools, and text books for our colleges. It is all important to "teach the young idea how to shoot," and to give it, in early life, a Southern bent. We have been guilty of great remissness on this subject, but we shall speedily repair it, and soon no more school books from Europe or the North will be seen south of Mason's and Dixon's line.

Last, not least, of the causes, in busy operation to beget a Southern thought, are our annual commercial conventions. We have little practical acquaintance with trade or commerce, and do not know that conventions can direct industry, or control trade, any more than they can stop or divert the tide. We shrewdly suspect, however, that despite of conventions, private individuals will direct their industry and invest their capital in such manner as they think most profitable. Nay, more—we are so irreverent as to believe that each man is the best judge in such matters for himself. Besides, we think it far more dignified to let a starving and naked world come to our Egyptian granaries, as Joseph's brethren came to him,

than for us to be hawking, peddling, and drumming like Englishmen through the universe. The character of drummer, hawker, and peddler, does not suit Southern taste or Southern talent. We have no turn whatever for swapping, drumming, and bargaining; and if we went from home with our products, might get cheated out of our eyes. Besides, we should neglect our crops, and in a short time would have nothing to employ our commerce.

But poorly as we think of these conventions as commercial stimulants or agencies, we know that they are invaluable as a means, and by far the most potent means, of uniting the South, begetting a common public opinion, and preparing us for any crisis or emergency that may arise. Let the South but be prepared and united, and her rights will always be respected, and the Union secure. But apathy and inertness beget aggression; and any further aggression by the North will precipitate disunion. The cup of our endurance is filled to the brim.

These conventions are composed of able, patriotic, and conservative men. Their proceeding, though firm, are calm, dignified, and moderate. They represent Southern feeling and opinion correctly, and excluding Russia, the South is the only conservative section of civilized christendom. The democracy of the North, it is true, are conservative, but there Black Republicanism is in the ascendant, and that is radical and revolutionary in the extreme. The Pope of Rome is a radical reformer. Louis Napoleon and Victoria are half-way socialists, and Henry the Fifth, the Bourbon heir to the French throne, is a thorough socialist. So desperate is the condition of the people throughout Western Europe, that no one in power dare tell them that there shall be no change, that all things shall remain as they are. The South is the only conservative section of christendom, because it is the only section satisfied with its own condition. Every where else, except in our North, the people are suffering intolerable ills, and ripe, at any moment, for revolution. There is no occasion for radicalism and revolutionary spirit at the North. Next to the South, it is the most prosperous, and should be the most contented country in the world. All of its discontent, and its political, moral, and religious heresies have grown out of abolition. Men who begin by assailing negro slavery find that all government begets slavery in some form, and hence all abolitionists are socialists, who propose to destroy all the institutions of society.

That slavery to capital, so intolerable in densely settled countries, where lands are monopolised by the few, can never be felt at the North, until our vast possessions in the West are peopled to the Pacific, and a reflux population begins to

pour back upon the East. Then, like Western Europe, the North would have a laboring population slaves to capital, "slaves without masters." Famine would become perennial, and revolution the common order of the day, as in Western Europe. Nay, the condition of the laboring class in the North-east, would be far worse than in Europe, because there would be no checks to competition, no limitations to the despotism of capital over labor. The spirit of trade and commerce is universal, and it is as much the business of trade to devour the poor, as of the whales to swallow herrings. All its profits are derived from unjust exacting or "exploitation" of the common poor laboring class; for the professional and capitalist, and skilful laboring classes, manage to exact five times as much from the poor, as they pay to the tradesmen in way of profit. The poor produce everything and enjoy nothing. The people of the North are hugging to their breasts a silly delusion, in the belief that the poor can tax the rich, and thus prevent those evils that are starving and maddening the masses in Western Europe. You can't tax a rich man unless he be a slave-holder, because he produces nothing. You can't tax property, except in slave society, because it does not breed or produce anything itself. Labor pays all taxes, pays the rich man's income, educates his children, pays the professional man's fees, the merchant's profits, and pays all the taxes which support the Government; a property tax must take a part of the property proposed to be taxed, and such a tax never will be imposed; a property tax would soon divest all men of their property.

Gerrit Smith said most truly in Congress: "The poor pay all taxes, we (meaning the rich) are the mere conduits who pass them over to government." This was the noblest and the grandest truth that ever was uttered on the floor of legislative hall. It is this awful truth that is shaking free society to its base, and it will never recover from the shock. 'Tis now tottering to its fall. Property and not labor is taxed in slave society. 'Tis true the negro produces the wherewithal to pay the tax, but he loses nothing by it. Neither his food or his raiment are abridged. Both humanity and self-interest prevent the master from lowering his wages. The master pays the tax by abridging his own expenses. He has less of food and raiment, not the slave. The capitalist charges higher rents and profits to meet increased taxation, and lives as expensively as ever. The employer reduces the wages of his laborers for the same purpose, and dines and sups as luxuriously as ever.

Labor pays all taxes, but labor in slave society is property, and men will take care of their property. In free society,

labor is not property, and there is nothing to shield the laborer from the grinding weight of taxation—all of which he pays, because he produces everything valuable.

We have made this digression to show that if the North ever becomes densely settled, there is no mode of escaping from the evils of free competition and from the taxing power or exploitation of skill and capital. In Europe, competition is not so fierce, the spirit of trade not so universal. They have still kings, nobles, and established churches, stripped, it is true of their fair proportions, reduced somewhat to the semblance of shadowy "phantasms;" yet, still, as the natural friends of the poor, interposing some check to the unfeeling exactions of the landholder, the tradesman, and the employer. In the palmy days of royalty, of feudal nobility, and of catholic rule, there were no poor in Europe. Every man had his house and his home, and both his brave and his pious protectors. The baron and the priest vied with each other in their care of the vassal. This was feudal slavery; and what is modern liberty? Why, quietly, slowly, almost insensibly, the poor have been turned over from the parental and protective rule of kings, barons, and churchmen, to the unfeeling despotism of capitalists, employers, usurers, and extortioners; and this was called emancipation!

Although, in the event of a dense population cooped up in the North, without means of escape, the evils which we have depicted, would occur more virulently there than in Europe; yet, it is not worth while to anticipate evils that may never happen. The North is now doing well. Her poor are not the slaves of capital, and never will be whilst there are vacant lands in the North. Population does not always increase. It has its ebbs and flows. Very large countries, such as America, are not likely to be overstocked with inhabitants. Secret causes at work will diminish population in some sections, whilst it is increasing in others. The situation of the North is natural, healthful, and progressive, but for the abolitionists and other agrarian isms. 'Tis treason in them to disturb society by the unnecessary agitation of questions as to contingent and future evils. But this is not their only treason. They propose, in their conventions, to dissolve the Union, not for any evils with which it afflicts them, but because the South hold slaves. Now, Black Republicans, who are under the rule of abolitionists, if not all abolitionists themselves, are radical and revolutionary in their doctrines, and dangerous to the Union; whilst Southern Commercial Conventions are composed entirely of men of the opposite character, of enlightened conservatives.

We differ from what are called the extremists* of the South;

but would not shoot down the sentinels of our camp. If not the wisest, most far-seeing, and most prudent, they are the most zealous friends of the South. They believe, that eventually, the aggressions of Northern abolition will force disunion upon us, and look to disunion as probably the only ultimate redress for the wrongs inflicted on us. We think a victory may yet, perhaps, be won by the South, not by arms, but by Southern thought and European necessities. Thought, by means of the press and the mail, has now become almost omnipotent. It rules the world. Thought, with hunger and nakedness to prompt, stimulate, and direct it, will prove irresistible. That thought has commenced and begotten a counter-current in Europe, that impels France to renew the slave-trade under a new form, and induced a debate in the British Parliament which evinces a universal change of opinion as to abolition and squints most obviously towards the renewal of the slave-trade. Revolutions of opinion do not go backwards, nor do they stand still in a half-way course. England sees, admits, and deplors the error of West India emancipation. This admission is but a step in a chain of argument, which must ultimately carry her further from abolition, and bring her nearer to slavery. For a while, she will try to maintain some middle ground between emancipation and slavery, and substitute coolies, and African apprentices, for negro slaves. But there are two reasons why she cannot long occupy this ground. First, its falsity and hypocrisy are too obvious; and secondly, coolies and apprentices do not answer the purpose of slaves. Her necessities will compel her to reinstate African slavery in its old and mildest form. Thus will Southern thought triumph, Southern morality be vindicated, and Southern wisdom, prudence, and foresight, be rendered apparent. The crusades lasted for a century. Those who conducted them had stronger convictions, and a clearer sense of duty, than modern abolitionists, for they laid down their lives by the million in the cause, whilst modern abolitionists, from Wilberforce to Greely, have not evinced the slightest taste for martyrdom. All Europe then believed the crusades a righteous and holy undertaking. Abolition has never commanded such universal assent, nor such self-denying sacrifices. So far from marching a thousand or more miles to fight for their cause, they have not been willing to give up a cup of coffee, an ounce of sugar, or a pound of cotton, to speed it; no, they have been encouraging slavery, whilst abusing it, by consuming slave products. Europe and the North can any day abolish slavery by disusing slave products. They should try the experiment, for should they succeed in abolishing it, they will have none of those products thereafter—Jamaica and Hayti prove this.

The crusades lasted for a century, and their signal failure opened men's eyes to the folly and wickedness of such expeditions; and soon men began to wonder at the infatuation of their crusading ancestry. So it will be with abolition. It has lasted nearly a hundred years. It has failed as signally as the crusades, and brought hunger and nakedness on its votaries, or at least on the laboring poor at their doors. As in the case of the crusades, abolition will soon be considered a mad infatuation—for want, brought on by it, combines with failure, to open men's eyes.*

Southern thought must be a distinct thought—not a half thought, but a whole thought. Domestic slavery must be vindicated in the abstract, and in the general, as a normal, natural, and, *in general*, necessitous element of civilized society, without regard to race or color.

This argument about races is an infidel procedure, and we had better give up the negroes than the Bible. It is a double assertion of the falsity of the Bible—first, as it maintains that mankind have not sprang from a common parentage; and, secondly, as it contends that it is morally wrong to enslave white men, who, the Bible informs us, were enslaved by the express command of God. But it is also utterly falsified by history. The little States of Greece, in their intestine wars, made slaves of their prisoners, and there was no complaint that they did not make good slaves; whilst the Macedonians, an inferior race, were proverbially unfit for slavery. The Georgians and Circassians, the most beautiful of the human family, make excellent slaves, whilst the Bedouin Arab and American Indian are as unfit for slavery as the Bengal tiger, or those tribes in Palestine whom God commanded Moses and Joshua to put to the sword without discrimination or mercy.

Again: to defend and justify mere negro slavery, and condemn other forms of slavery, is to give up expressly the whole cause of the South—for mulattoes, quadroons, and men with as white skins as any of us, may legally be, and in fact are, held in slavery in every State of the South. The abolitionists well know this, for almost the whole interest of Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, arises from the fact, that a man and woman, with fair complexion, are held as slaves.

We are all in the habit of maintaining that our slaves are far better off than the common laborers of Europe, and that those laborers were infinitely better situated as feudal serfs or slaves than as freemen, or rather as slaves to capital. Now, we stultify ourselves if we maintain it would be wrong to re-

* Alas! that the confidence of our friend should be based upon so flimsy and unsubstantial a foundation. The "wish" only can be "father to the thought."
EDITOR.

mit them back to domestic slavery, which we always argue is much milder and protective than that slavery to capital, to which emancipation has subjected them. They have been wronged and injured by emancipation, would we not restore them to slavery? Or are we, too, to become Socialists, and coop them up in Greely's Free-Love phalansteries? There are no other alternative.

Again: every Southern man in defending slavery, habitually appeals to the almost universal usages of civilized man, and argues that slavery must be natural to man, and intended by Providence as the condition of the larger portion of the race, else it could not have been so universal. What a ridiculous and absurd figure does the defender of mere negro slavery cut, who uses this argument, when the abolitionist turns round on him and says—"why, you have just admitted that white slavery was wrong, and this universal usage which you speak of has been white, not black slavery. The latter is a very recent affair."

We must defend the principle of slavery as part of the constitution of man's nature. The defence of mere negro slavery, will, nay, has involved us in a thousand absurdities and contradictions. We must take high philosophical, biblical, and historical grounds, and soar beyond the little time and space around us to the earliest records of time, and the farthest verge of civilization. Let us quit the narrow boundaries of the rice, the sugar and the cotton field, and invite the abolitionists to accompany us in our flight to the tent of Abraham, to the fields of Judea, to the halls of David and of Solomon, to the palaces and the farms of Athens and of Rome, and to the castles of the grim Barons of medieval time. Let us point to their daily routine of domestic life. Then, not till then, may we triumphantly defend negro slavery. "You see slavery everywhere, and throughout all times: you see men subjected to it by express command or by permission of God, with skins as white and intellects as good as yours. Can it be wrong to enslave the poor negro, who needs a master more than any of these?" Less than this is inconsiderate assertion, not Southern thought; nay, not thought at all.

The temptation to confine the defence of slavery to mere negro slavery is very strong, for it is obvious that they require masters under all circumstances, whilst the whites need them only under peculiar circumstances, and those circumstances such as we can hardly realize the existence of in America. May the day never arrive when our lands shall be so closely monopolized, and our population become so dense, that the poor would find slavery a happy refuge from the oppression of capital.

In the South, there is another and a stronger reason for the feeling of indignation at the bare suggestion of white slavery—that is pride of caste. No man loves liberty and hates slavery so cordially as the Southerner. Liberty is with him a privilege, or distinction, belonging to all white men. Slavery a badge of disgrace attached to an inferior race. Accustomed from childhood to connect the idea of slavery with the negro, and of liberty with the white man, it shocks his sensibilities barely to mention white slavery. 'Tis vain to talk to him of the usages of mankind, for his prejudices and prepossessions were formed long before he heard of history, and they are too strong to be reasoned away.

This peculiarity of Southerners, and other slaveholders, is admirably described by Burke, who was the most philosophic and farseeing statesman of modern times. He says, "in Virginia and the Carolinas they have a vast multitude of slaves. Where this is the case in any part of the world, those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing then that freedom, as in countries where it is a common blessing, and as broad and general as the air, may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude, liberty looks among them as something more noble and liberal. I do not mean to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has at least as much pride as virtue in it; but I cannot alter the nature of man. The fact is so; and those people of the Southern colonies are much more strongly, and with a more stubborn spirit attached to liberty, than those to the Northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such were our Gothic ancestry; such, in our days, were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves who are not slaves themselves. In such a people, haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invisible."*

* We have introduced this subject of taxation into this article, in part, to show that universal suffrage at the North does not place the poor in any better situation than those of Europe, so long as the rights of property are respected. Capital or property is a master with unlimited power in dense populations, when lands are monopolized by the few. When property ceases to be respected, rich and poor will go down together. We have another object in introducing this subject, and that is to give a specimen of Southern Thought. This theory is conservative of slave society, and should be promulgated and taught amongst us; but it is subversive of free society, and however convinced of its truth, none but such recklessly honest men as Gerrit Smith dare avow it. In a future number we shall probably attempt to show that almost all the tenets in moral science, held in free society, are false, and that Southern Thought will have to inculcate doctrines on most subjects the reverse of theirs, yet strictly accordant with the Bible, the wisest and best of books, even if it were not inspired.

SALT—HISTORICALLY, STATISTICALLY, AND ECONOMICALLY.

NEW AND IMPROVED AMERICAN SALT MANUFACTURE.

The paper which follows, was prepared mainly for us, by Prof. R. Thomassy, an intelligent and scientific French gentleman who has been spending some time in the United States, and chiefly at the South, in the effort to extend among us the manufacture of salt, upon the largest and most comprehensive scale. He has been intrusted with many official commissions in relation to the salt works of Italy and of the French West Indies, and have, without doubt, profoundly mastered the subject in almost every possible point of view. The subject is commended to the serious attention of the reader. Our own opinions will be given on the appearance of the next number.*—EDITOR.

I.

PROGRESSIVE ASCENDENCY OF FOREIGN SALT IN AMERICA—ITS DISTRIBUTION THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES—LEGITIMATE PRIDE OF THE BRITISH SALT TRADERS, THEIR UNTIRING ZEAL TO BE IMITATED BY AMERICAN CONSUMERS—A COMING REVOLUTION IN SALT MANUFACTURING.

The imports of foreign salt into the United States is increasing yearly with a wonderful progression. It is carried on, not as in the old colonial times, by some hundred sacks of this article, but by thousands and ten thousands of sacks and tons, landed every week on the American wharves; so that every year, one, two, or three more millions of bushels are imported, as if it was to prevent the competition of a domestic manufacture by the superabundance of foreign merchandize. But the United States are the greatest consumers of salt in the world; more than one bushel to each inhabitant is the average of their individual consumption; when in Europe, the same average does not reach a half bushel. Hence, the repeal by the Congress of the old duty on the foreign salt and the welcome given to any new cargo of this vital article. See the reports of the United States Treasury: during the year 1854-'55, this importation of salt was about 13 millions of bushels, and during 1855-'56, it has been 15,405,864 bushels! Now wait for the next report of 1856-'57, and the new statement will reach probably 17 millions of bushels, costing, with the freight, at least \$3,000,000—a yearly tribute paid by American consumers, and worth, undoubtedly some consideration.

As to the main quarters of this supply, during the said year 1855-'56, they were as follows:

	Bushels.
Boston imported.....	1,985,278
New York “.....	3,380,486
Philadelphia “.....	1,107,888
Baltimore “.....	960,370
Charleston “.....	858,328
Savannah “.....	885,781
Mobile “.....	923,182
New Orleans “.....	3,338,394

* Mr. Thomassy's papers, which appeared in the *Charleston Mercury*, are combined into these, and completed.

And so on in other places. So that the total importation causes a waste of at least three millions of dollars, which certainly would be better applied to internal improvements and cultivation of the Southern sea-coasts.

In this general statement the special import of British salt is still more prodigious; being, for 1855-'56, 12 millions of bushels or the four-fifths of the whole importation. Such a gigantic trade looks truly like a pacific invasion, a silent and sure conquest of the American market by an article of paramount necessity, not only for human life, but also for agricultural and industrial purposes, for manuring the cotton fields, for curing provisions and fisheries, or for chemical products. All these leading industries, all these national resources of the United States, it is impossible to deny it, are, in their selling price, ruled by English salt; and British pride must certainly be satisfied in seeing the master of this prime matter enjoying in the New World, so large influence over any pursuit where this vital article is called for.

When I visited Liverpool, the distributing center of this mighty trade, I understood clearly, after visiting some of the most extensive salt works in Cheshire county, how salt, as well as iron and coal, has enhanced the British influence throughout the world. English statistics, though incomplete, by lack of official documents, have recently given us some general notions showing with how gigantic stride their domestic salt manufacture has been lately extended. "During the last year, (1855,)" says the *European Times* of Liverpool, only speaking of Winsford district, "130,000 tons of this salt was exported to the United States of America; and in the last ten months the salt sent to the same country increased to 274,000 tons—(10,960,000 bushels, or more than 13,000,000 for the whole year 1856.) The quantity shipped in the same time to British North America, Africa, Australia, and the East Indies, amounted to 274,268 tons. The export to the Baltic was 34,000 tons; coastwise, 100,000 tons; and for home consumption, 120,000 tons. The total yield for the last ten months has been about 800,000 tons;" or for the whole year nearly 1,000,000 of tons, or 40,000,000 bushels. Now to this production we must add that of Northwich, and some other places, equal to three-fourths of the preceding, and we can value and admire how this most stupendous manufacture divides its products between the national and foreign markets, yielding 20,000,000 bushels for home consumption, and 50,000,000 for supplying the remotest parts of the world, to the profit and honor of the exporting nation.

Thirty thousand English mariners are carrying abroad,

through all the seas, this paramount merchandise, when at home a laboring population, at least equal in number, depends directly for a living on its domestic production. On it, of course, an immense amount of capital is invested, and from it the most valuable benefits and social improvements are derived for the internal welfare of England. For instance, the cheapness of salt, 3 or 6 cents per bushel, causes its rapid and profitable consumption in agricultural as in industrial pursuits. The same low price created in France, fifty years ago, and is now increasing daily in England, the powerful manufacture of chemical products, which has given so great impetus to the progress of material civilization. Near Liverpool, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Glasgow, are gigantic establishments where millions of bushels of common salt are yearly decomposed by the use of sulphuric acid, and used to make immense quantities of soda-ash, bleaching powder, and various similar articles, required for the health or comfort of the great human family. The United States are once more the largest importers of these valuable British merchandises, paying for them three other millions of dollars, and acting in this new trade of prime importance as a mere country of consumers, unable to supply their own wants. Meanwhile the English chemical works, thanks to the low price of their domestic salt, are yearly increasing in value and productiveness, and for their magnitude, the perfection of the details, the consummate scientific skill of their management, are worthy to take place among the wonders of Great Britain.

England, of course, in this stupendous production and trade of salt, has availed herself of her peculiar situation. All her salt being made by artificial evaporation with iron boilers and fuel, though of the worse quality, is perfectly adapted to a country where the richest salt wells and saliferous strata, are, by navigable rivers and railroads, in direct communication with the Lancashire coal mines. Having the cheapest fuel for evaporating the strongest brine, she manufactures a bushel of salt for three or four cents, and with another trifling expense she sends it to Liverpool, of which the immediate vicinity and cosmopolite navigation admits at the cheapest freight. The fortunate connection of this shipping place with the salt works, and of the salt works with the coal fields, has caused the artificial superiority of English salt traders and manufacturers. But in spite of their skill, nature is still living, and nature works against them. Her evaporating power, refused to the wet and sunless clime of Great Britain, is a gratuitous salt maker for any more southern country, for France, Italy, Spain, and consequently for the South of the American

Union. Then gratuitous as the agency of the sun and winds, and inexhaustible as the brine given by the ocean, the natural evaporation must sooner or later supersede in salt making the British fuel, and triumphantly compete against it in the United States as well as in southern Europe.

England, herself, is perfectly aware of this change, and of this inevitable revolution; and she tries also to control better the evaporating forces of southern climates in her West Indies, as in the Bahamas and at Turk's Island. There, nature alone, has, till now, effected entirely the salt making. But already practical skill is called for. Turk's Island, for instance, not long ago, was a poor dependency of the Bahamas. By extending their natural salt ponds, and building new salt works, imitated from the old French method of making salt in St. Domingo, these barren places are become a British presidency, yielding yearly one million and a half of bushels, to the great profit of the population, and treasury of the Crown. Inagua is another British place rivalling the former in the same production, waiting for more complete improvements, and giving us a new standard of the English far-seeing policy.

A new era is coming for manufacturing the vital merchandise by a cheaper method. Any natural power, better understood, brings forth human progress. Therefore, America, availing herself of the atmospheric evaporation, will soon produce all her own salt, and enfranchise her inhabitants from any tribute paid for this supply to the old world. Like the star of empires, the progress of salt works, once more, is now westward. Small, bright, but infallible harbinger of the greatest revolution.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, of which the commercial power was built at first on the Etrusian salt works of Ostia, Venice took the lead of the same policy, and became the most skillful salt trader of the middle age in the Mediterranean market, when the old Federative France was carrying and monopolising the merchandise to the northern seas. Then Oleron Island and the renowned *La Rochelle* were supplying England, who, when allied to the French Huguenots, was taking care of her salt trade and consumption as much as of her Protestant co-religionists. At last England enfranchised her own population from the foreign supply, and became what she is now, the greatest salt trader of the world. But America waits for her turn, welcoming every new morning the mighty power of the sun, of which the gratuitous evaporation, united to the forces of her sea breezes, is now to supersede easily the costly management of English boilers and fuel, and to save the price of trans-atlantic transport in making salt everywhere at hand for any kind of domestic consumption.

II.

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE MASTERY OF SALT—SPIRIT OF THE
 REVOLUTIONARY WAR AS REGARDS THE AMERICAN SALT MANUFACTURE—STRIKING
 EXAMPLE OF THE SAME SPIRIT IN THE HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

To understand better how much the actual dependence on a foreign supply of salt can be injurious to the United States, we have first to examine the general influence of salt upon internal relations, and to know its unsuspected weight in the balance of power. Historical testimony is unanimous upon this subject, and the experience of mankind will be also corroborated by the double trial of the United States in the year of their political independence, and during the second war with the mother country.

At every period in the history of the world, with every advance of civilization, what do we see? The people who have abandoned to foreign nations the supply of salt, chastised, sooner or later, for their carelessness. From tribe to tribe, as from people to people, the control of this vital article has always given some ascendancy, and often an inevitable dominion, for the manufacturer of salt controls always, in some respects, the health and social well-doing of the people obliged to buy it. Who rules, indeed, the Chinese population, if not the Tartar race, who, after their first intercourse with China as salt traders, became at last the conquerors of this Empire? Thanks are due by these barbarians to the salt lakes and fossible salt so abundant in their wildernesses, by the use of which they continue their primitive trade; and loading with salt innumerable camels, take, in return, the thread, linen, and millet of China; they bring back also with them the obedience of their consumers, because salt is the most necessary article in all these exchanges.

Look at the negro race in Africa. Who are their rulers, if not the Arabs and Moors, masters of inexhaustible salt lakes and mines, whilst the poor Nigritian is absolutely deprived of salt in the interior of his deserts? Singular exception to the laws of Providence, who, after lavishing this vital element throughout the world, has refused it to the sons of Ham. Hence the manifestation of a new social law, which has established the most serious and instructive intercourse between the tropical and northern population of Africa. The want of salt in the one side, and the superabundance of it on the other, have brought nearer, as in Asia, in spite of sickly and impenetrable solitudes, the most diversified races, one born to rule, and the other to obey. Of such a relation the result was almost inevitable. The superior race uses and abuses its natural advantages; and as necessity is superior to utility, as life prevails over luxury and well being, the master of this

vital merchandise rules the market. Receiving in return the gold dust and ivory from the Nigritian, the Arabs and Moors often carry away the negro himself—obliged to give up his liberty because nature has made him dependent on a foreign supply of salt.

The English dominion in the East Indies produced in the last century an analogous social phenomenon, when the merciless Warren Hastings established his exclusive and dreadful monopoly of salt. The timorous Asiatic at this very time gives his English ruler the title of "Master of the Salt," showing by this qualification that salt is regarded by them as the infallible index of power and true privilege of conquest.

Such being the influential trade and production of salt, what ought to be done by so free, strong, and far-seeing a people as the Americans, if not to manufacture all the quantity that they consume at first, and afterward exchange the residue with inferior races or foreign countries? But how short is the indigenous production from the present consumption in the United States. Instead of producing all their salt, they are importing yearly sixteen millions of bushels, and especially all the sea salt wanted for their provisions and northern fisheries.

We must even confess it frankly: young America, confident in a dream of perpetual peace, as much perhaps as in the productive strength for every kind of wealth, does not inquire about her consumption of salt, either foreign or domestic. Very well! Let, if you will, the greatest part of this vital element remain in the hands of the mother country, and believe in her *entente cordiale*! But remember also the heroic trial of your independence, and the want and deficiency of salt during your second war against your old dominators. Keep well the records yet living on the Atlantic shores and teaching us the distress of those hard times, when your people were flocking from the Alleghany mountains to the sea coast, to make, at heavy cost, bad salt, and in limited quantity, from the ocean brine. This is worth your remembrance.

The history of the Southern States will enlighten particularly the matter put before us, and recommend itself as a testimony of general experience to be repeated. Clear, precise, and conclusive experience, which exceeds all others as the most mournful summary and faithful expression of the great drama of American liberty! At this crisis so imperious in regard to the supply of provisions of prime necessity, gunpowder and salt were equally wanted, and it was urgent to manufacture them both, as the double means of life and victory. European governments, jealous of keeping their colonies under perpetual vassalage, were also very well acquainted with the fiscal importance of the salt they were manufacturing

at the lowest price and supplying at the highest. The absolute monopoly of this article has been always the aim of their policy, and it was the most avaricious regulation of old England toward her colonial dependances. Look now at the colonies when the English salt, the only salt used for their food and of immediate necessity, rapidly diminished. A tremendous scarcity of the vital element appeared in the market, and no domestic production was ready to counteract it. Under such unforeseen circumstances, lawgivers, the very best friends of liberty and economical principle, were obliged to fix a maximum price on salt and to regulate its sale, doing what in a normal situation would have been the most anti-economical, anti-liberal. Later, in France, under similar but more tragical circumstances, the National Convention tried also, by a *maximum* price, to counteract the scarcity of 1793; but in France, also, the evil increased by the remedy itself: so that the American *maximum* of 1776 can be now better understood, and will be remembered.

Let us read in the resolutions of the provincial Congress of South Carolina, March, 1776, the full testimony of this great experience.

"Whereas, information hath been laid before the Congress, that certain persons do monopolize the necessary article of salt, and demand an extravagant price for the same; and also require specie in payment, to the detriment of the continental and colonial currency: the Congress do therefore:

"*Resolve*, That no persons do hereafter presume to sell salt for more than twenty-five shillings per bushel, (about \$6 25,) exclusive of the expense of reasonable freight or carriage to the distant part of the colony. And that Mr. Jos. Kershaw, Mr. Loockock, Mr. Samuel Prioleau, junior, Captain Maurice Simons, and Capt. Samuel Legare, for Charlestown; Mr. Daniel DeSaussure, and Mr. Thomas Hughes, for Beaufort; and Mr. George Croft and Mr. Antony Bonneau, for Georgetown, be and they are hereby appointed Commissioners, and empowered to enquire after, and buy up, out of the hands of individuals, all quantity of salt which such individuals may have more than necessary for their respective families, and to dispose of the same in small quantities at the same rate. And that the said Commissioners do also purchase all the salt which may be imported within six months.

"That Col. Laurens, Mr. Ferguson, the Rev. Mr. Tennent, Mr. Edwards, and Mr. Gibbes, be and they are hereby appointed Commissioners to erect and superintend a *Public Salt Works* at or near Charlestown; that Mr. Joseph Allston, Captain William Allston, Mr. Benjamin Young, Mr. Peter Simons, and Mr. Thomas Butler, be and they are in like

manner appointed Commissioners for a *Public Salt Works* on the Northern coast; and that Captain Thomas Tucker, Mr. Daniel Jenkins, Mr. Joseph Fickling, be and they are hereby appointed Commissioners in like manner for a *Public Salt Works* on the Southern coast of this colony. That each Board of the said Commissioners, respectively, shall have power to draw upon the colony treasury for any sum not exceeding (\$35,000) seven thousand pounds currency, for defraying the necessary expenses incurred by this service. And that they shall sell the salt, to be made at the same public works, at the most reasonable rate."* (19 March, 1776.)

In every one of these Commissioners, I am happy to recognize the names of my countrymen, the French Huguenots, who originated from the provinces of France the most advanced in the salt manufacture; practical and enthusiastic people, who, giving their arms and skill to the industrial emancipation of the New World, dedicated their hearts and hands to the conquest of religious and political freedom. Remember, also, that after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, they brought to England the French method of making salt from the sea brine by atmospheric evaporation. But under the sunless and damp skies of England, this method was, of course, unavailable, and was given up in the beginning of this century.

In relation to the public spirit of these times, South Carolina evinced a standard of it in the matter of salt, acting with wisdom, foresight and energy, as the duties of that heroic age required. We should neither forget the warm appeal made to Dr. David Ramsay, from Philadelphia, for introducing in Charleston, *by examples and writings*, the improvements of the nitre manufacture, (14th March, 1776.) Iron-work, paper mills, internal canalization, societies incorporated for the promotion of agriculture, were, at this same time, matters of the highest importance for the Carolinian law-givers. In short, they were ready to advance money to the most enterprising citizens, and encourage every useful industry, introduced with the express purpose of being carried on *in as great perfection as in any part of Europe*.† In this simple expression, what pride! Those who spoke in such a manner were very truly disenthralled from the old world by this resolution of being equal to any civilized people. They certainly were no longer

* To complete this important regulation, two days after it, the Congress adjoined Mr. Benjamin Eddings to the commission intrusted for erecting Salt Works on the Southern coast. (Page 116, Provincial Congress, 1776.)

† 23d March, 1776.—The Provincial Congress * * * Resolved, That the sum of three hundred pounds currency be advanced to the said Wm. Bellamy * * * for the express purpose of his forthwith erecting a proper mill for making paper, and cutting files, in as great perfection as in any part of Europe.

politically bound to their European mother country; and when the time arrived, would be no more dependent on her for the future supply of salt, as well as gunpowder, and other articles of national importance.

This patriotic and provident conduct was followed with emulation by Georgia, the younger sister of South Carolina, and by the other States of the rising confederation, each of them understanding that, without an indigenous and independent production of vital merchandize, their political independence was jeopardized.

A glorious peace crowned at last those efforts, noble in industry as well as in war; and this paramount result afforded, undoubtedly, the most practical, if not the brightest event, which characterized the Revolutionary war; it was that steady ambition spoken of for Americanizing all necessary articles of consumption, and carrying on the domestic manufacture *in as great perfection as in any part of Europe*. With this constant aim for internal improvements, all fears, indeed, were vanished; for the fruits of the conquered liberty were ripening over an indigenous tree, and the supplies gathered by the peace were always at hand to prevent any famine from a future war. Thus all emergencies, at home or abroad, were controlled, and the strongest lie given forever to the old monopolies of the British aristocracy or other European governments. In economical as much as in political respect, the new American confederation boasted rightly to be independent; the South particularly felt herself, at that time, far-seeing and wide awake on the national advantages of any domestic manufacturing, and gave her sons the experience of the past as the true standard of the future. Such was the first spirit of the Revolution, nowhere better embodied, nowhere printed in more striking characters, than in the history of South Carolina. But too soon this cautious policy was forgotten during the unbounded enjoyment of the victorious emancipation; and how much that carelessness in matter of salt production has been once more injurious to the American industry and agriculture, particularly to the cotton production, we must now recollect.

III.

NEW ATTEMPTS DURING THE WAR OF 1812, FOR DOMESTIC SALT MANUFACTURE—THE OLD AMERICAN PROCESS COMPARED WITH THE FRENCH-INDIAN METHOD OF MAKING SEA SALT—ADVANTAGES OF THIS NEW METHOD AS APPLIED TO THE SOUTHERN STATES.

The main trial of American industry during the second war of 1812 to 1814, was once more to manufacture its own salt. When the foreign supply of that article—of which everybody wants so little but wants absolutely—was stopped, one could

have seen the results of a new famine: as during the war of Independence, each fireside was inquiring for the vital merchandize, and the whole country anxious for her interior life, a true revolution took place in the housekeeping of young America, as would now befall the laboring classes of old England were they bereaved of our cotton. Salt being called for at any cost, every one was trying the best way to get it, bringing his tools to the sea-shore or a salt spring, and by boilers and fuel producing the article for his private supply or for the public market, where it was wanted more and more. Thus the manufacture and trade of this imperious merchandize became the greatest domestic business of the moment. Meanwhile, the Federal Government was quietly taking care of the salt springs and saliferous fields; and American lawgivers through all the country, were patronizing any salt-making as the most urgent of the public interests for the internal welfare.

The old salt works, established in 1776 by the legislatures of several States, were carried on anew in South Carolina, near Charleston, Beaufort, and Georgetown; in Virginia and Maryland, on the shores of Chesapeake Bay. Private producers undertook, in Georgia and elsewhere, to supply the same article. In short, from Massachusetts to Florida and Louisiana, a thousand spots on the Gulf and Atlantic coasts were hastily covered by similar small establishments—a curious symptom of a national industry rising again to life, under the pressure of exterior events.

The first experiment of the Revolutionary war being almost forgotten, this second trial was carried on without any more practical skill. The most elementary notions of this manufacture being misunderstood, were applied in two ways, each equally slow and expensive, but, nevertheless, worthy of recollection for the warning of future American producers. One was an imitation of the old working of salt springs in England, by artificial heat and iron boilers. The sea brine was introduced in the boilers by wind or tide mills, and evaporated with the fuel of neighboring forests till the salt crystalized. The striking defect of this process was in assimilating two brines of the most different strength; the sea brine containing never more than four per cent. of salt; the brine from salt springs having often from ten to eighteen per cent. that is three, four, or five times greater quantity of crystalizable matter. Every one knows that this crystalization begins when the brine is concentrated about to 25° . Thus, salt springs of 18° , for instance, require, to produce their salt, only 7° more; but sea water of 4° wants 21° , and, for its full concentration, requires as much relative fuel and expense of management. Such was the backward process of making salt, from the

sea brine by artificial heat, without applying, to concentrate the same, the paramount and gratuitous evaporation of the sun and winds.

The result of this natural evaporation, so frequently seen on the sea-shore, gave the idea of the second process, an excellent idea, but so badly applied that, as it will be proved afterward, *three-fourths* of the evaporating force were lost, as they are lost even now in the renowned salt works of Syracuse. According to this second method, sea water was, by artificial means, lifted up in wide wooden vats, so disposed as to receive in the highest vat the weakest brine. From this depository, the brine, some little evaporated and cleaned, was, through wooden pipes, carried from one vat to the other, down to the lowest, where salt, at last crystalized, was gathered in a solid form. To shelter this graduation of brine from the injury of rain, wooden and moveable covers were always at hand, ready to be rolled over all these vats, or, hanging double on a pivot, to protect from the rain or expose to the sun two vats at the same time.

Twenty years ago these double covers, as used on Nantucket Island and many Northern places, were employed near Charleston, on Morris Island, where Mr. Kershaw, working his negroes when idle in summer time, once produced some thousand bushels of salt yearly. The producing expenses of the article were fifty to sixty cents a bushel by this last process; but the average price of the two methods was a great deal higher—at least one dollar. In both cases, so long as the salt was wanted at any cost, no producer could complain of the expensive manufacture of the article, its selling price being profitable. Transporters took also their profits, sometimes monopolizing the merchandize with the retailers; thus consumers of every class, compelled by necessity, paid per bushel what was asked, three, four, and even six dollars; as much as under the old despotism, when salt, iron, gunpowder, and every vital article, was forwarded to the thirteen Colonies by English monopolists.

To understand better this period in the economical history of the United States, we must remember that, from the general embargo of 1808, privations of customary merchandize, as David Ramsay tells us, put the public mind in the most impressive state. Warm addresses to the people awoke easily the revolutionary spirit favorable to manufactures. But the people needed also technical information and traditional experience. Nothing was very more ready than in 1776, for securing the practical success of necessary innovations. Of course the new salt works erected on the Atlantic coast, did not counteract the scarcity which lasted as long as the war. A document from North Carolina, printed afterward by the

Senate at Washington, gives us an important testimony on the burdensome price, bad quality, and insufficiency of merchandise at that time, when salt was required in the smallest quantity, merely for health and life, and not as yet for agricultural and industrial purposes by cotton planters in the South, farmers in the West, and fishermen in the North.

"During our Revolutionary war, when our ports were closed against accustomed supplies, our necessities compelled us, along our seaboard, to the manufacturing of boiled salt, against which we are now contending; the inhabitants of the State generally flocked here, erected their temporary boilers, and returned home with their commodity, generally inadequate to their wants, and at all times vitiated and unfit. Their provisions suffered, as might have been expected, and an unjust odium has been entailed upon all salt of domestic origin. Subsequently, when the scarcity excited by the last war suggested the idea of our present improved process upon a large scale, it may have happened that a *want of practical skill*, and the incessant and insatiable demand upon our works, might have rendered our vat salt short of its existing purity. But now, that experience has furnished its lights, and it is made superior in efficacy (as is admitted by all accustomed to its use,) *is it not folly, is it not madness, to send our funds abroad, when they might be expended among ourselves?*"

This last remark from Mr. John R. Loudon, of North Carolina, was as sensible, as patriotic, and evinces a true understanding of the financial importance of the subject.

As to the management of the same salt works, after the second peace between the United States and England, the improvement spoken of consisted only in their permanence on a larger scale along the Atlantic coast, whether built with iron boilers or wooden vats. But the manufacture itself was not at all improved by the double process applied to the concentration of sea water. The slow concentration of such a weak brine in both methods, made, as we have seen, the trial too expensive; and of course, when, in later time, unprotected by the home tariff, this domestic production became unavailable against foreign competition.

During this second period, American salt springs were almost unknown, or worked so badly that very little, and a very bad article, was gathered from them. Hence another cause of scarcity for the inhabitants of the western ranges of the Alleghany mountains. At last, in those regions, stronger saliferous strata were discovered by means of artesian wells; and more salted waters became so productive that, from the west of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York States, their products were sent toward the Atlantic coast, and, competing with superiority against the domestic sea salt, accelerated the abandonment of its backward manufacture.

The history of these salt springs and of their exploitation* progressing with the number of inhabitants, will be afterwards

* This French word "exploitation" seems worth an introduction into the American language. Its meaning is very comprehensive; for the working of the salt establishment, its management, and all the technical and commercial operations connected with it, are expressed by this single word.

an interesting one, particularly as to the application to their brine of our method of making sea salt by atmospheric evaporation. Let this only be known at present, that they are supplying nearly two-fifths of the United States; and though unfit for provisions and fisheries, still their production prevents the foreign salt from ruling the northwestern market. Salt springs are also abundant in many of the Southern States, but, generally, under circumstances very unfavorable to the transportation of their products.

At this moment, let us prefer the sea water, lifted up by high tides upon convenient places of the Atlantic shores. In order to call the attention of enterprising citizens to the cheapest and most improved method of making salt, let us show some financial results of this industry, and how far superior it is to the past or present method practised in the United States. The Salt Works of Syracuse, in New York State, are the most extensive and noticeable in the New World. There 6,000,000 bushels and more are yearly manufactured; 5,000,000 by boilers, and about 1,000,000 by solar evaporation.

When I went, near the close of 1854, to visit this splendid laboratory of human skill, I asked the producing price of the article. "It varies, in some places, ten or twelve cents a bushel; in others seven or eight." "Very well, I will take, as your standard, the *minimum* price, seven cents. Now, as it would take too long to give you my secret, I prefer to reason with your official reports. In the last report of 1854, (page 14,) Prof. Cook, appointed by Syracuse itself, tells you that *about three-fourths of the evaporating power is lost in the actual process of making salt*. Then you will understand that, by controlling all the evaporating force of the sun and winds, you could have, as we have in the south of France, three times more salt than is now made in your wooden vats; or, the same quantity three times cheaper. Indeed, for the last twenty years, the French sea salt, per 100 kilogrammes of 232 pounds, (4 bushels,) costs eight or nine cents, or about two cents per bushel. This fact is of public notoriety. By some new improvements in salt works which I introduced in Italy, in 1848, I have produced the bushel for only one and a half cent, from the brine of the Adriatic sea, which is six times weaker than yours; for it has only two and a half per cent, of salt, while yours has sixteen or eighteen per cent. Thus, in Syracuse, in spite of the richness of the brine, the cost to the manufacturer, per bushel, is seven cents, when in France and Italy it is only two cents. Why so incredible a difference? Read once more the report of Professor Cook: they lose three-fourths of their solar evaporation."*

* See, on the same subject, my article published in the Albany (N. Y.) Evening Journal, 3d January, 1855, and in DeBow's Review.

Now, every one understands that, with a method producing three times more salt, or the same quantity three times cheaper, we can easily produce, not only in Syracuse, but all along the Atlantic shores, under the bright and glorious sun of the South the bushel of salt for about two cents, instead of seven or a great deal more.

With a diminution of five cents per bushel, the total saving on six million bushels manufactured in Syracuse, would be yearly \$300,000. But we have to apply this calculation to the selling price of foreign salt, exclusively consumed in the Southern States. I take twenty-two cents as the average price of this salt, and suppose the American production ready at two cents per bushel, to compete against it, with an economic superiority of twenty cents. What will be the result upon 17,000,000 bushels imported yearly into the United States? A total saving of \$3,400,000—a handsome sum to be saved and invested in internal improvements.

As to South Carolina and Georgia, which are now consuming near 2,000,000 bushels of Liverpool salt, their yearly saving, by a domestic supply of the article, will be about \$400,000. A large and direct profit will, at the same time, derive to them from their new salt works near Charleston, or the entrance of Savannah river; for the merchandize made from the sea-brine, and by natural evaporation, has always taken the lead of the market as the best kind of salt for curing beef, pork, cheese, and other provisions, which constitute the wealth of the Western farmers. The State of Tennessee will be certainly supplied in this way with the Atlantic salt from Georgia or South Carolina, instead of the Turk's Island salt, carried from New Orleans up the Mississippi river. New Orleans herself, which, in the financial year of 1856-'57, has imported nearly 4,000,000 of bushels, will retain, by a domestic manufacture of the article, all the profits of the foreign producers, and will increase yearly the wealth of Louisiana, Texas, and Mississippi, by saving an importing sum of about \$800,000.

But these advantages are not to be compared to that of having indefinite quantities of salt at hand for agricultural purposes. For manuring the cotton field, for instance, how many millions of bushels could be sold at four or five cents, as it is in France or Italy. To supply that unlimited quantity wanted by old and new planters, how many thousand acres of sickly and marshy land would be turned into healthy, evaporating fields, and rich crystalizing rooms, depositories of this vital article, now unrivalled by the cheapness of its production.

But before entering more intimately into the peculiar improvements derivable to the South from such a domestic manufacture, let us look at the greatness of its results to the Union at large.

(TO BE COMPLETED IN OUR NEXT.)

INCREASING COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE OF NEW ORLEANS.

Year after year, since 1845, the readers of the Review have been regularly furnished with a digest of the annual statistics of New Orleans, as published in the Prices Current, and some others of the leading Journals of that great commercial emporium. In addition to these statistics, other digests have been published by us, running both with much minutae to the very foundation of the city. No other city in the world publishes more complete and satisfactory records, and few, if any, have furnished the evidences of a more regular and sustained advance. At the close of 1845, when the first number of the Review was being prepared for the press, the aggregate value of the receipts at New Orleans reached but \$57,199,122, whilst in the year, which has just closed, that aggregate has been swelled to \$158,000,000. The comparison in a few articles of these receipts will be equally striking:

	1845.	1857.
Flour.....bbls...	837,985	1,290,597
Sugar.....hhds...	93,109	300,000 (est'd 1857-'8.)
Corn.....sacks...	1,166,120	1,437,051
Cotton.....bales...	985,000	1,513,247

Referring to the statistics of the present year, the Editor of the Prices Current remarks:

The year just closed has been a season of short crops and high prices; a state of things doubtless tending to the advantage of some, but not favorable to the general welfare. The most marked feature in this respect, and the one of more immediate local concern, has been the comparative failure of the cane crop, which, notwithstanding the high prices realized for the produce, has fallen about \$10,000,000 short of the product of the previous year's crop. On the other hand, the cotton interest, with some 250,000 bales deficiency in quantity, has realized an aggregate which shows some \$15,000,000 excess over the aggregate of last year. The total value of our products received from the interior, according to our annual valuation table, sums up \$158,061,369, against \$144,256,081 last year, and \$45,716,045 in 1845; showing an increase over last year of \$13,805,288, and over 1845, a period of twelve years, of \$112,345,324, or nearly 250 per cent. This, may, perhaps, be considered tolerably fair progress for a "declining" city, but with still more vigorous energies directed to the development of our mighty resources we hope soon to see the ratio of progress accelerated. An efficient agent to this end will be the speedy completion of the railroads now in progress, and a still further extension of the system. Capital is wanted for these purposes, and we say to the Northern navigation interest, as we have said on a former occasion, aid our railroads to develop our resources and you make freight for your ships. You have aided Northern railroads to "tap the West," and have thus defeated your own interest. With a more extended system of railroads and lines of propellers to insure speed and punctuality in the transportation of produce and merchandise between our own and other markets, we could not fail to witness an increased augmentation of our trade with the interior, and, as a consequence, a marked increase in the general trade and prosperity of our city.

According to the Custom-house records, the total value of exports of produce and merchandise, of the growth and manufacture of the United States, for the fiscal year ended, June 30th, was \$119,222,615, against \$110,353,436 last year;

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Imports into New Orleans, from the Interior, for two years. From the 1st September, to the 31st August, in each year.

ARTICLES.	1856-'57.	1855-'56.	ARTICLES.	1856-'57.	1855-'56.
Apples.....barrels	36,612	62,449	Hides.....	165,546	151,431
Bacon, assorted, casks &c	39,197	36,454	Hay.....bales	59,961	146,737
Bacon.....barrels and bxs	8,855	2,732	Iron, Pig.....tons	77	832
Bacon, Hams.....hhds	32,804	23,751	Lard.....hhds	3	4
Bacon in bulk.....pounds	7,660	173,760	Lard.....tes and bbis	108,027	110,713
Bagging.....pieces	32,028	33,905	Lard.....kegs	93,859	63,790
Bale Rope.....coils	112,846	101,831	Lime, Western.....bbis	28,369	16,551
Beans.....barrels	3,139	6,758	Lead.....pigs	13,291	80,624
Butter.....kegs	32,343	33,119	Lead, bar.....kegs	365	841
Butter.....barrels	1,060	1,825	Lead, white.....kegs	85	65
Beeswax.....barrels	87	130	Molasses.....bbis	84,169	238,811
Beef.....barrels and tierces	30,958	61,059	Ons.....bbis and sks	393,171	537,180
Beef, dried.....pounds	30,880	19,010	Onions.....barrels	14,670	14,477
Buffalo Robes.....pcks	30	1	Oil, linseed.....barrels	10	163
Cotton—			Oil, castor.....barrels	856	1,520
La. and Miss. bales.....	1,068,385	1,170,693	Oil, lard.....barrels	8,074	10,881
Lake.....	4,187	4,652	Pickles.....kgs and bbis	113	197
N. Ala. and Tennessee.....	277,545	379,494	Potatoes.....barrels	74,133	182,556
Arkansas.....	80,993	102,154	Pork.....tes and bbis	243,223	277,541
Montgomery.....	18,996	37,061	Pork.....boxes	10,924	6,323
Mobile.....	41,040	36,542	Pork.....hhds	2,573	2,993
Florida.....	4,708	5,136	Pork in bulk.....pounds	3,417,340	7,480,284
Texas.....	17,508	23,601	Porter and Ale.....barrels	1,783	1,687
Corn Meal.....barrels	856	240	Packing Yarn.....reels	1,435	3,814
Corn in ears.....barrels	14,719	41,924	Skins, Deer.....packs	794	406
Corn, shelled.....sacks	1,437,051	1,990,935	Sho.....kegs	2,745	8,898
Cheese.....boxes	43,979	42,652	Sugar.....hhds	62,463	155,819
Candles.....boxes	74,891	82,893	Sugar.....barrels	3,995	3,526
Cider.....barrels	17	59	Sugar.....boxes	9,233	10,287
Coal, Western.....barrels	1,770,000	987,000	Shingles.....M	6,000	5,000
Dried Peaches.....barrels	235	286	Staves.....M	7,000	4,647
Dried Apples.....barrels	873	2,760	Tallow.....barrels	965	1,195
Flaxseed.....tierces	261	230	Tobacco, leaf.....hhds	55,067	56,090
Flour.....barrels	1,290,597	1,120,974	Tobacco, Chewing.....bxs	3,261	3,599
Furs.....hhds, bxs, bbis	1,740	1,030	Tobacco.....bales	151	109
Feathers.....bags	823	778	Twine.....bundles	3,982	3,658
Glassware.....boxes	30,859	30,326	Whiskey.....barrels	179,164	143,753
Homp.....bales	13,008	16,818	Wheat.....bbis and sks	775,963	869,524

Comparative Statement of Receipts, Exports, and Stocks of Cotton at the following places and dates annexed.

PORTS.		Stocks on hand Sept. 1. 1856.	Received since Sept. 1. 1856.	Exported from September 1, 1856, to dates.					U. S. North'n ports.
				To Great Britain.	To France.	Other foreign ports.	Total foreign ports.		
New Orleans.....	Aug. 31	6,995	1,449,996	749,483	258,163	236,069	1,293,717	223,204	
Mobile.....	Aug. 21	5,005	484,680	205,207	83,824	22,840	311,871	110,275	
Savannah.....	Aug. 13	1,550	326,989	138,694	9,504	16,641	158,839	162,167	
Charleston.....	Aug. 20	3,144	394,651	133,576	40,821	49,483	229,185	166,230	
Florida.....	Aug. 11	74	123,099	29,125		1,764	30,889	33,391	
Va. and N. C.....	Aug. 15	842	89,094				200	26,745	
Texas.....	Aug. 22	623	89,823	9,792	4,423	6,637	20,917	50,661	
New York.....	Aug. 18	34,657		142,892	21,090	23,242	192,224		
Other ports.....	Aug. 15	9,500		5,150		1,455	6,605		
Total bales.....		62,390	2,903,332	1,419,521	416,830	413,136	2,249,537	322,603	
Total to date in 1856.		141,629	3,493,799	1,915,443	479,963	551,894	2,947,302	356,555	
Increase this year.....									
Decrease.....		79,239	585,467	495,922	63,135	133,703	697,765	33,862	

¶ We have taken from New Orleans the amounts received from Mobile, Florida, and Texas—from Charleston the receipts from Savannah, and from Mobile the receipts from Florida. The exports from Georgetown to New York, are added to the Charleston receipts, and exports from Darien to Liverpool and New York, are added to the Savannah receipts. Exports from Mobile, Florida, and Texas to New Orleans, and those from Savannah to Charleston, are deducted from exports to Northern ports.

Direct Imports of Coffee, Sugar, and Salt, for three years—from September 1 to August 31st.

ARTICLES.	1856-'57.	1855-'56.	1854-'55.
Coffee—Cuba, &c.....bags.	11	10,885	2,287
Coffee—Rio.....bags.	440,903	385,982	341,138
Sugar—Cuba.....bxs. and bbls.	29,367	31,665	20,111
Sugar—Cuba.....hhds.	21,394	6,639	443
Sugar—Brazil, &c.....bxs. and bags.	8,306	.....	.....
Molasses—Cuba.....hhds. and tes.	24,453	122	114
Molasses—Cuba.....bbls.	29,531	1,683	2,261
Salt—Liverpool.....sacks.	1,051,190	1,033,234	603,298
Salt—Turks' Island, &c.....bushels.	592,778	735,282	382,298

Imports of Specie, for twelve years, from 1st September to 31st August.

1856-'57.....	\$6,500,015
1855-'56.....	4,913,540
1854-'55.....	3,746,037
1853-'54.....	6,967,056
1852-'53.....	7,865,226
1851-'52.....	6,278,523
1850-'51.....	7,937,119
1849-'50.....	3,792,662
1848-'49.....	2,501,250
1847-'48.....	1,845,808
1846-'47.....	6,680,050
1845-'46.....	1,872,071

COTTON.

In regard to the prices of cotton during the several months of the past season the following figures will be of interest and value:

Table showing the quotations for Middling Cotton on the first of each month, with the rate of freight to Liverpool, and sterling bills, at same date.

1856-'57.	Middling.	Sterling. Per ct. prem.	Freight. d. per pound.
September.. 11	a 11½	9½ a 9½	7-16 a
October.... 11½	a 11½	8½ a 9½	4 a
November.. 11½	a 11½	8½ a 9	15-32 a
December... 11½	a 11½	7½ a 8	4 a 17-32
Jan. 1857... 11½	a 12½	7½ a 7½	9-16 a
February... 12½	a 12½	6½ a 7½	9-16 a
March..... 12½	a 13	7½ a 8	7-16 a 15-32
April..... 13½	a 13½	7½ a 8½	5-16 a
May..... 13½	a 14	9½ a 9½	3-16 a
June..... 13½	a 14	9½ a 10	5-16 a
July..... 14	a 14½	9½ a 10	11-32 a
August..... 14½	a 15	9½ a 10	7-16 a

Table showing the product of low Middling to good Middling Cotton, taking the average of each entire year for ten years, with the receipts at New Orleans and the total crop of the United States.

	Total Crop. Bales.	Receipts at New Orleans. Bales.	Average price. Cents per lb.
1847-'48.....	2,847,634	1,213,805	6½
1848-'49.....	2,728,596	1,142,382	6½
1849-'50.....	2,096,706	837,723	11
1850-'51.....	2,355,257	995,036	11
1851-'52.....	3,015,029	1,429,183	8
1852-'53.....	3,262,882	1,664,964	9
1853-'54.....	2,990,027	1,440,779	8½
1854-'55.....	2,847,899	1,284,763	9 1-16
1855-'56.....	3,527,845	1,759,293	9
1856-'57... est'd.	2,935,000	1,513,247	12½

Table showing the amount and distribution of the United States crop for the past three years.

	1855-'56.	1854-'55.	1853-'54.
Crop.....bales	3,527,845	2,847,899	2,990,027
Exp'ts—G. Brit'n	1,962,899	1,549,716	1,603,759
France..	489,637	409,931	374,056
Cont'n't.	571,089	284,562	341,549
	2,964,616	2,244,209	2,319,146
Consumpt'n U. S.	652,739	593,584	610,571
Stock, 1st Sept...	64,171	143,336	185,608

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Supply and Consumption of Europe and the United States.

According to a statement made up by Mr. J. N. Cardozo, of Charleston, S. C., the supply and consumption of cotton in Europe and the United States, for the ten years ending with 1856, has been as follows:

YEAR.	U. States Crop.	Foreign Supply..	Total	Consumption in Europe.	Consumption in U. States.	Total.
1847.....	1,779,000	481,000	2,260,000	1,745,000	421,000	2,166,000
1848.....	2,139,000	401,000	2,540,000	2,159,000	534,000	2,693,000
1849.....	2,729,000	538,000	3,267,000	2,477,000	518,000	2,995,000
1850.....	2,067,000	747,000	2,814,000	2,451,000	494,000	2,945,000
1851.....	2,855,000	690,000	3,545,000	2,618,000	466,000	3,084,000
1852.....	3,015,000	739,000	3,754,000	3,112,000	608,000	3,720,000
1853.....	3,268,000	882,000	4,150,000	3,018,000	601,000	3,704,000
1854.....	2,923,000	765,000	3,688,000	3,116,000	607,000	3,723,000
1855.....	2,847,000	940,000	3,787,000	3,316,000	593,000	3,909,000
1856.....	3,527,000	848,000	4,375,000	3,637,000	653,000	4,290,000
	26,090,000	7,016,000	33,106,000	27,644,000	5,525,000	33,169,000

Supply and Consumption of Europe.

The following table shows the Import, Consumption, and Stocks in the whole of Europe, for the years 1855 and 1856, and is compiled from the Annual Report of Messrs. Stollerfoht, Frost, & Co., Liverpool:

	1856.	1855.
Stock, January 1st, bales.....	587,000	768,000
Import to 31st December—		
Great Britain.....	2,468,000	2,278,000
France.....	506,000	467,000
Belgium.....	78,000	63,000
Holland.....	98,000	89,000
Germany.....	252,000	197,000
Trieste.....	98,000	77,000
Genoa.....	56,000	57,000
Spain.....	147,000—3,703,000	106,000—3,334,000
Total Supply.....	4,290,000	4,102,000
Deduct Exports.....	214,000	199,000
Deduct Stock, December 31st..	439,000— 653,000	587,000— 766,000
	3,637,000	3,316,000
Sources of Supply.		
United States.....	2,678,000	2,394,000
Brazil.....	159,000	165,000
West Indies.....	31,000	31,000
East Indies.....	653,000	549,000
Egypt.....	182,000—3,703,000	195,000—3,334,000

The following tables, which have explanatory captions, we have compiled from our records, under the impression that they would probably be found interesting to parties engaged in the Cotton Trade.

Date of receipt of first bale.	Receipts of new crop to Sept. 1.	Total receipts at New Orleans.	Total crop of the United States.
1845.....July 30.	6,846	1845-'46..1,053,693	2,100,537
1846.....Aug. 7.	140	1846-'47.. 749,669	1,778,651
1847.....Aug. 9.	1,089	1847-'48..1,213,805	2,347,634
1848.....Aug. 5.	2,864	1848-'49..1,142,382	2,728,596
1849.....Aug. 7.	477	1849-'50.. 837,723	2,096,706

1850.....	Aug. 11.	67	1850-'51..	995,036	2,355,257
1851.....	July 25.	3,165	1851-'52..	1,429,183	3,015,029
1852.....	Aug. 2.	5,077	1852-'53..	1,664,864	3,262,882
1853.....	Aug. 9.	74	1853-'54..	1,440,779	2,930,027
1854.....	July 25.	1,391	1854-'55..	1,284,768	2,847,339
1855.....	July 26.	23,282	1855-'56..	1,759,293	3,527,845
1856.....	July 15.	1,166	1856-'57..	1,513,247	*2,935,000
1857.....	Aug. 15.	33			* estimate.

Seasons.	Receipts at N. Orleans.	Average price per bale.	Total value.
1845-'46.....	1,053,633	\$32 00	33,716,256
1846-'47.....	740,669	44 00	32,589,436
1847-'48.....	1,213,805	29 00	35,200,345
1848-'49.....	1,142,382	27 00	30,844,314
1849-'50.....	837,723	50 00	41,886,150
1850-'51.....	995,036	49 00	48,756,764
1851-'52.....	1,429,183	34 00	48,592,222
1852-'53.....	1,664,864	41 00	68,259,424
1853-'54.....	1,440,779	38 00	54,749,602
1854-'55.....	1,284,768	40 00	51,390,720
1855-'56.....	1,759,293	40 00	70,371,720
1856-'57.....	1,513,247	57 00	86,256,079
Total, 12 years.....	15,075,382		\$602,612,033

It will be seen by the above table that the Cotton alone, sold in this market within the past twelve years, has yielded a gross product of \$602,612,032.

TOBACCO.

The quality of the last crop was very inferior, fully one-half being more or less injured by frost, and it embraced but a very limited proportion of fine Tobacco, either heavy or light.

With respect to the growing crop, we would briefly remark, that a succession of frosts in the spring has made it a very late one, and thus rendered the result more uncertain than if an early maturity could have been assured. With the breadth of land planted, however, it seems to be the general impression that the receipts here, which must be exclusively of this year's growth, the interior being now bare of stock, are likely to approach those of 1852-'53, when they were about 75,000 hhds. The quality, however, will mainly depend upon the character of the season from this time forward.

The following table, made up to the 30th November of each year, shows as nearly as possible the proportion of each separate crop received at this port:

From December 1, 1842, to November 30, 1843.....	98,530 hhds.
" " 1843, " 1844.....	78,443 "
" " 1844, " 1845.....	74,033 "
" " 1845, " 1846.....	67,812 "
" " 1846, " 1847.....	61,712 "
" " 1847, " 1848.....	50,669 "
" " 1848, " 1849.....	59,230 "
" " 1849, " 1850.....	56,798 "
" " 1850, " 1851.....	65,048 "
" " 1851, " 1852.....	98,904 "
" " 1852, " 1853.....	67,403 "
" " 1853, " 1854.....	47,763 "
" " 1854, " 1855.....	54,020 "
" " 1855, " 1856.....	55,934 "

SUGAR.

We have compiled from our records, says the Prices Current, the annexed statement of the sugar product of Louisiana for the past twenty-three years, showing the amount of each year's crop in hogsheads and pounds, with the gross average value per hogshead and total, the proportions taken by Atlantic ports and Western States, and the date of the first receipt of each crop. By this statement it will be seen that the total product of Louisiana from 1834 to 1856 inclusive, a period of twenty-three years, was 3,972,716 hogsheads, valued at \$204,131,228, and that of this quantity the Atlantic ports took 1,317,883 hogsheads and the Western States, 1,974,103 hogsheads. The crops from 1828 (which is as far back as our estimates extend) to 1833, summed up 281,000 hogsheads; which would make the total product in a period of twenty-seven years 4,253,716 hogsheads, or 4,477,668,000 pounds. We would here remark, that up to 1848, the product in hogsheads is estimated, and 1,000 pounds taken as the average weight per hogshead, but for the crop since that date we have taken the figures of Mr. P. A. Champomier, as we find them in his Annual Statements.

Year.	Total crop. Hhds.	Av. price per hhd.	Total value.	Exported to At- lantic ports hhd.	Exp'd to Western States hhd.	First re- ceipts of new crop.
1834...	100,000	\$60 00	\$6,000,000	45,500	44,500	Oct. 15.
1835...	30,000	90 00	2,700,000	1,500	23,500	Nov. 5.
1836...	70,000	60 00	4,200,000	26,300	35,000	Nov. 1.
1837...	65,000	62 50	5,062,500	24,500	32,500	Nov. 1.
1838...	70,000	62 50	4,375,000	26,500	32,500	Oct. 17.
1839...	115,000	50 00	5,750,000	42,600	58,000	Oct. 13.
1840...	87,000	55 00	4,785,000	38,500	46,500	Oct. 14.
1841...	90,000	40 00	3,600,000	28,000	50,000	Oct. 13.
1842...	140,000	42 50	4,750,000	63,000	60,000	Oct. 12.
1843...	100,000	60 00	6,000,000	34,000	52,000	Oct. 22.
1844...	200,000	45 00	9,000,000	101,000	70,000	Oct. 3.
1845...	186,650	55 00	10,265,750	79,000	75,000	Oct. 4.
1846...	140,000	70 00	9,800,000	45,500	70,000	Oct. 7.
1847...	240,000	40 00	9,600,000	84,000	115,000	Oct. 2.
1848...	220,000	40 00	8,800,000	90,000	108,000	Oct. 5.
1849...	247,923	50 00	12,396,150	90,000	125,000	Oct. 11.
1850...	211,303	60 00	12,678,180	45,000	123,000	Oct. 17.
1851...	236,547	50 00	11,827,350	42,000	149,000	Oct. 19.
1852...	321,931	48 00	15,452,688	82,000	206,000	Oct. 9.
1853...	449,324	35 00	15,726,340	166,000	185,000	Oct. 6.
1854...	346,635	52 00	18,025,020	122,000	148,000	Oct. 4.
1855...	231,427	70 00	16,199,890	39,133	131,027	Oct. 10.
1856...	73,976	110 00	8,137,360	1,850	39,576	Nov. 3.
Total.	3,972,716		204,131,228	1,317,883	1,974,103	

With respect to the coming crop, we may remark that it is understood to give very fair promise. The plant generally came up well, under the genial weather of the early spring, but its progress was checked by the subsequent unseasonable frosts; and the general low temperature of the later spring months, together with a lack of sufficient moisture, so retarded its growth that up to a late period of the season, the crops presented a comparatively stunted appearance. The refreshing rains of July and August, however, had a favorable influence, and the promise is now said to be flattering for such a crop as will effectually refute the assertion that the cane has "died out" in Louisiana; and this, without any aid from the foreign seed imported at the national expense, which, so far as we have been able to learn, proved an entire failure, as did also some private enterprises of a similar character. We are not accustomed to put forth estimates of the probable extent of crop, but the season is a peculiar one in the circumstances connected with the sugar trade, and we think it well for all concerned—producers, dealers, and consumers—to be advised that, with a favorable season for maturing and gathering the crop, our State will be likely

to furnish in the neighborhood of 300,000 hogsheads of the quantity which will be required for the consumption of the United States in the coming year.

Touching the market prospects for the crop, we conceive that they are of an encouraging character for the planter. True, with the immense difference in the amount of production, as compared with last year, the unusually large stocks of foreign sugar to compete with and a greatly increased product from the Maple tree, it can hardly be expected that the high average of the past year can be realized; still we look for such prices as will yield an aggregate much above that obtained for any previous crop raised in Louisiana.

BREADSTUFFS.

The annexed table shows the exports of Breadstuffs from the United States to Great Britain and Ireland, and to Continental ports, since 1st September, and a comparison with the same period last year:

To Great Britain and Ireland.

	1856-'57.	1855-'56.	Decrease.
Flour.....barrels	864,275	1,647,513	783,238
Corn Meal.....barrels	586	8,271	7,685
Wheat.....bushels	7,507,362	7,532,542	25,180
Corn.....bushels	4,712,363	6,855,995	2,143,632

To Continental Ports.

	1856-'57.	1855-'56.	Decrease.
Flour.....barrels	481,011	738,952	257,941
Rye.....bushels	216,162	1,953,299	1,737,137
Wheat.....bushels	2,873,275	2,489,777	Inc. 383,498
Corn.....bushels	543,590	273,810	Inc. 269,780

COFFEE.

The annexed table presents a comparison of the direct imports into the port of New Orleans for the past fourteen years:

	From Rio de Janeiro.	From Cuba, Laguana, &c.
1844.....	161,082	52,857
1845.....	167,669	4,094
1846.....	215,031	10,899
1847.....	205,111	43,931
1848.....	239,371	8,590
1849.....	299,129	16,341
1850.....	225,013	20,627
1851.....	274,690	10,367
1852.....	353,616	12,525
1853.....	338,412	10,812
1854.....	228,660	11,057
1855.....	341,138	2,287
1856.....	379,232	10,885
1857.....	427,323	6,057

FREIGHTS.

Short crops of our leading staples and the return of a large amount of tonnage from the transport to the merchant service, have combined to depress freights to a very low point during the past season, and the average of rates is considerably below that of last year. The following table, which shows the

Comparative Arrivals, Exports, and Stocks of Cotton and Tobacco at New Orleans, for ten years, from 1st September each year.

YEARS.	COTTON—BALES.			TOBACCO—HEADS.		
	Arrivals.	Exports.	Stock.	Arrivals.	Exports.	Stock.
1856-'57....	1,513,247	1,516,921	7,321	55,067	50,181	13,711
1855-'56....	1,759,293	1,795,023	6,995	56,090	59,074	9,125
1854-'55....	1,284,768	1,270,264	39,425	53,348	64,100	12,653
1853-'54....	1,440,779	1,429,180	24,121	48,905	53,043	24,045
1852-'53....	1,664,864	1,644,981	10,522	75,010	64,075	29,166
1851-'52....	1,429,183	1,435,815	9,758	89,675	93,715	18,831
1850-'51....	995,036	997,458	15,390	64,030	54,501	23,871
1849-'50....	837,723	838,591	16,612	60,304	57,955	14,842
1848-'49....	1,142,382	1,167,303	15,480	52,335	52,896	13,293
1847-'48....	1,213,805	1,201,897	37,401	55,882	60,364	14,851

Exports of Cotton and Tobacco from New Orleans for three years—Commencing September 1, and ending August 31.

WHITHER EXPORTED.	COTTON—BALES.			TOBACCO—HEADS.		
	1856-'57.	1855-'56.	1854-'55.	1856-'57.	1855-'56.	1854-'55.
Liverpool	721,111	931,541	702,541	6,164	2,931	5,272
London .....	.....	.....	833	5,179	4,600	7,571
Glasgow, Greenock, &c.	13,980	26,018	8,621	.....	.....	.....
Cowes, Falmouth, &c.	5,494	8,605	3,460	103	.....	549
Cork, Belfast, &c.	8,900	20,458	1,873	.....	.....	.....
Havre	247,481	227,152	168,650	143	3,844	8,430
Bordeaux	2,386	2,811	1,814	213	194	3,056
Marseilles	2,833	8,819	3,486	932	1,904	6,661
Nantz, Cette, and Rouen	5,463	6,032	4,873	.....	.....	.....
Amsterdam	4,330	7,807	1,875	14	.....	100
Rotterdam & Ghent	6,736	6,400	1,907	623	560	.....
Bremen	55,835	58,238	29,451	10,667	8,240	5,293
Antwerp, &c.	15,089	18,147	7,877	3,725	3,747	2,492
Hamburg	11,500	21,322	5,661	.....	.....	46
Gottenburg & Stockholm	19,294	20,167	15,861	121	823	904
Spain, Gibraltar, &c.	58,530	83,174	47,154	4,671	14,279	7,618
Mexico, &c.	17,737	17,291	18,787	.....	.....	.....
Genoa, Trieste, &c.	53,352	78,347	43,223	5,457	4,472	4,947
St. Petersburg, &c.	43,666	30,534	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other Foreign ports .....	.....	.....	.....	3,537	4,324	3,714
New York	50,653	51,340	69,959	6,245	7,176	6,019
Boston	153,133	151,469	118,675	1,446	1,408	739
Providence, R. I.	4,090	2,834	1,458	.....	.....	.....
Philadelphia	13,979	10,532	8,105	843	410	489
Baltimore	1,255	3,173	4,070	66	.....	103
Portsmouth .....	.....	1,540	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other coastwise ports	94	1,212	50	32	162	97
Western States .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Total..... 1,516,921 1,795,023 1,270,264 50,181 59,074 64,100

RECAPITULATION.

Great Britain	749,485	986,622	717,328	11,446	7,531	13,392
France	258,163	244,814	178,823	1,288	5,942	18,147
North of Europe, ...	156,450	162,675	62,632	15,150	13,370	9,247
S. Europe, Mexico &c	129,619	178,812	109,164	13,665	23,075	15,867
Coastwise	223,204	222,100	202,317	8,632	9,156	7,447

Total..... 1,516,921 1,795,023 1,270,264 50,181 59,074 64,100

374 INCREASING COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE OF NEW ORLEANS.

Exports of Sugar and Molasses from New Orleans for two years, (up the river excepted) from September 1 to August 31.

WHITHER EXPORTED.	1856-'57.				1855-'56.			
	SUGAR.		MOLASSES.		SUGAR.		MOLASSES.	
	hhds.	bbls.	hhds.	bbls.	hhds.	bbls.	hhds.	bbls.
New York.....	387	40	....	6,917	14,479	3,438	....	45,745
Philadelphia.....	55	....	....	1,184	2,840	1	....	10,863
Charleston, S. C.....	171	15	....	1,330	3,688	9	....	12,932
Savannah.....	38	....	....	340	759	54	....	4,001
Providence & Bristol,								
R. L.....	....	....	....	50	....	....	....	1,201
Boston.....	....	....	....	1,226	439	....	....	12,327
Baltimore.....	680	....	....	1,372	11,380	554	....	15,784
Norfolk, Richmond, &								
Petersburg, Va....	508	....	....	1,622	4,618	....	....	6,037
Alexandria, D. C.....	....	....	....	....	499	....	....	591
Mobile.....	5,050	22	....	6,662	7,696	....	....	20,208
Apalachicola & Pen-								
sacola.....	539	578	....	1,076	1,161	417	....	3,872
Other Ports.....	1,944	1,870	....	2,777	3,459	1,410	....	9,506
Total.....	9,372	2,525	....	24,556	51,018	5,883	....	142,967

Exports of Flour, Pork, Bacon, Lard, Beef, Lead, Whiskey, and Corn, from September 1 to August 31.

Ports.	1856-'57.						
	Flour, barrels.	Pork, barrels.	Bacon, casks.	Lard, kegs.	Beef, barrels.	Lead, pigs.	Whiskey, barrels.
New York.....	141,494	46,628	2,979	188,688	5,527	10,937	1,056
Boston.....	241,466	58,725	2,728	57,808	10,857	6,242	8,925
Philadelphia.....	....	....	9	....	....	....	....
Baltimore.....	....	8,547	....	1,430	....	....	336
Other coast ports.....	141,142	18,874	25,631	17,941	....	....	46,884
Great Britain.....	73,758	18,853	4,716	153,611	1,229	....	204,603
Cuba.....	15,274	1,420	1,740	185,090	314	....	230,641
Other foreign ports.....	280,776	4,722	644	49,753	903	96	59,735
Total.....	904,910	145,174	38,447	648,866	18,726	17,275	60,058

In the above, the Exports to Mobile, &c., via the Pontchartrain Railroad and New Canal, are included.

Monthly arrivals of ships, barks, brigs, schooners, and steamboats, for 2 years, from September 1 to August 31.

Months.	1856-'57.							1855-'56.						
	Ships.	Barks.	Brigs.	Schooners.	Sl. Ships.	Total.	S. Boats.	Ships.	Barks.	Brigs.	Schooners.	Sl. Ships.	Total.	S. Boats.
September.....	35	18	9	16	10	88	131	27	13	12	21	14	87	153
October.....	65	23	19	32	15	154	234	99	29	25	30	20	203	204
November.....	100	36	22	31	17	206	279	134	51	42	39	23	299	291
December.....	89	44	22	26	15	196	331	90	40	34	34	23	221	352
January.....	94	32	23	59	23	231	253	130	50	27	49	22	287	296
February.....	96	48	23	43	16	226	297	62	24	23	39	17	165	287
March.....	77	28	35	70	24	234	298	80	34	22	42	23	201	325
April.....	74	20	21	50	23	188	250	104	42	24	40	20	230	311
May.....	43	39	18	48	23	164	225	43	18	17	34	19	131	270
June.....	25	25	21	34	23	128	210	68	34	15	25	21	163	185
July.....	11	11	12	20	13	67	129	27	21	14	28	19	109	155
August.....	20	9	6	12	10	57	118	10	6	18	13	13	57	97
Total.....	739	321	231	441	212	1,934	2,745	874	375	261	399	234	2,143	2,936

The New Orleans Delta, Picayune, Bulletin, and Crescent, contain very admirable digests of the commerce of the city. The reports of the other papers, for the present season, we have not seen. The Bulletin remarks, as follows:

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.—With regard to our internal improvements, the time has now arrived when we can in some degree estimate their practical effect and the extent of their benefits to the trade of our market. The road which is penetrating the interior Cotton districts of this State and Mississippi, has already proved of great benefit and convenience to the planters within its reach, and our factors who are engaged in the trade. Offering a certain means of transportation at all seasons of the year, it enables the planter to make his engagements with his factor under a certainty of sending his crop to market at the moment when it may be required to meet them, or the course of prices may make it his interest to sell. In other districts, where the movement of the crop depends upon the stage of rivers or bayous, heavy losses and serious disappointments have often been incurred from the impracticability of bringing it forward when necessary to command favorable rates or meet factors' acceptancies, and with abundant means to liquidate all his debts the planter has found them totally unavailable, and the factor exposed to protest and ruin, from his inability to meet his engagements. Hence, in those districts where there is the most danger of such disappointments, factors have been justly reluctant to incur liabilities predicated on the anticipated crop, to the extent to which they may be safely made in more convenient localities. In this particular, the plantations within reach of the rail, are now on an equality with those on the river, which for this reason have always been preferred to those on the interior streams and bayous. In estimating then the advantages our commercial community has derived from the operation of the Jackson Railroad, we must not confine our attention to the amount of transportation on it, and the tolls received, but also consider the saving to the planter and factor from their being able to realize at the most convenient or advantageous moment. This has been less apparent during the past season from the upward tendency of prices having favored those who were compelled by low water, etc. to hold their stocks until a late period; but has still been too clearly manifested not to give an increased value to plantations on the line of the road, and make their trade an object of increased competition among the New Orleans factors. The controlling influence of the laws of supply and demand, cannot fail to lead to the dense settlement and thorough cultivation of all the cotton lands on the line of this road; but much may be done by our factors, as well as the Directors and Stockholders of the Company, to expedite the movement, by a fair representation of the facts. While we deprecate as unjust, and, in the end, impolitic, any exaggerated statements on the subject, we cannot but see the beneficial results that might arise from a full and reliable exposition of the peculiar advantages offered by the planting districts commanded by this market. That which is well known among ourselves, we are too apt to incorrectly suppose is known to all others; while in point of fact, many things patent to the majority of our citizens, are contrary to the general impression of others. Among such are the industrial resources of extensive tracts of country tapped by the Great Northern and Great Western Railroads. Considering the mildness and salubrity of the climate, the fertility and variety of soil, the extent of timber, and the amount of water power, together with accessibility to market, at all seasons, independent of the stage of rivers, or the influences of weather, these lands offer inducements to emigrants from Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, which are far from being appreciated.

There is verge and scope enough in our vicinity for all the slave labor that can be spared from any of the Southern States, nor would the annexation of any new slave State open a more profitable field than is presented by the lands hitherto comparatively inaccessible, which have been brought within reach of market by our internal improvements. But the advantages of these new lands are by no means confined to slave labor. There are also within our neighborhood extensive, fertile, and salubrious tracts in which free labor would find a most profitable field, and materially add to our commercial resources and wealth.

The same paper thus remarks upon the LUMBER AND NAVAL STORE TRADE OF THE CITY.

The commerce that has recently sprung up in one article alone, is an indication of what may be expected from the enterprise of free laborers. We refer to the lumber trade, which has exhibited the surprising feature of supplying to a large extent the St. Louis market, with timber from our magnificent pine forests, of superior quality, and at more satisfactory prices than it could be laid down there from any other quarter. The various branches of industry which would be stimulated by an increased development of this interest would build up towns and villages in the interior, and largely increase the population of our own city. The same remark is applicable to our trade in naval stores, which may yet be regarded as in its infancy, but which may be made a prominent source of our commercial wealth. Our market, for this article, is in fact waiting for the producer. Our present supplies are but little more than sufficient for our own wants, the small surplus made being mostly taken for the West, but developed as it might be, New Orleans may become one of the principal exporters of naval Stores to Europe. A fair exposition of the industrial resources we have designated, is in fact essential to our prosperity, and we think affords a legitimate subject for action to the Chamber of Commerce, the Directories of the two Railroads, and the City Government.

The closing suggestions of the Bulletin are worthy of the serious attention of the commercial community.

In closing this review, we would again direct public attention to some of the means by which our trade may be extended, and the prosperity of our commercial interest promoted. Among these are the extension and multiplication of railroad communication with the interior, and the encouragements of those lines in particular which will serve as feeders to the magnificent stream that is and must ever be the chief source of our wealth and prosperity; the removal of obstructions to its navigation; the cheapening of transportation on its surface by vessels, with an improved adaptation to the freighting business; the liberation of commerce from unnecessary municipal and legislative restrictions; and the reduction of all port charges to the lowest possible point. With regard to the cheapening of river transportation, in particular, several of our most prudent and sagacious citizens, who have had much experience as officers and owners of river steamers, are confident that if no unnecessary obstacles were presented by underwriters, the barge, adapted to the river, and to being towed both with and against the stream, would prove the most economical, and in the end, the safest medium for the transportation of produce and heavy freight. The barge costs but little in proportion to its capacity; it is free from the wearing effect of the engine, and more durable than the steamer; it can be built to carry a large cargo on a light draft of water; it can be used when freights are abundant and laid up at a trifling expense, when they are scarce; costing but little, it does not incur a ruinous loss of interest when idle; it is less exposed to fire than the steamer; it is subject to few accidents and cheaply repaired; it is peculiarly available for the delivery of cargo alongside the ship; less handling. These are some of the manifest advantages, and as it may be towed to distant warehouses at a trifling expense, it saves drayage and prevents damage from care, of the barge, but as long as the condemnation of the underwriter hangs over it, it cannot be in general use. If it were, pilots would soon become skilful in handling it; steamers would be built expressly adapted to tow it; and with the freight distributed between it and the tow, in case of an accident, there would be less danger of a total loss. Perhaps if this matter were fully investigated it would be found that the objections of underwriters to the barge might be obviated and, cheapening river transportation, it would arrest the diversion of the Western trade to New York by making it the interest of the Western dealer to give the preference to our market. It is by such means our merchants may restore to New Orleans its ancient prestige, and make it truly, as well as in name, the great Southern emporium.

ELWOOD FISHER ON THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

(CONCLUDED.)

In New York the proportion of crime is about the same, some eighteen thousand persons having been arrested there last year, (1848.) Of these, it is said six thousand were for drunkenness, twelve thousand were committed to the Tombs for examination, of whom ten thousand were committed for trial. Of these there were sentenced to the State prison 119 men and 17 women—to the penitentiary 700 men and 170 women—to the city prison 162 men and 67 women—total 981 men, 254 women—showing an amount of crime in a single city greater than in all the Southern States together. In the Kentucky penitentiary there is not a single woman—in the Virginia, I believe there is none.

The enormous amount of crime in the Eastern cities, which already rivals the depravity of those of Europe, has been ascribed to the multitude of European emigrants. But the returns do not sustain this plea. Of 7,009 persons in the jails and houses of correction in Massachusetts in 1847, only 1,165 were natives of foreign countries. This is less than one-fourth of the whole number, and cannot vary materially from the proportions of the foreign and native population in the State.*

Whilst the South has been so much more secure than the North in life and property from individual crime, it has been at least equally exempt from social disturbance. The apprehensions of danger from the dissimilarity of its white and black population have not been realized. The proportion of white and black remains as at first, about two to one. Even in Brazil where this proportion is reversed, where there are two blacks to one white, tranquility has reigned for a quarter of a century. And it is remarkable that Brazil and the United States, the only two nations on this continent, where African slavery prevails, are the only two which have succeeded in the establishment of stable and flourishing, social and political institutions. In all the Spanish American States, where the attempt has been made, to introduce political equality among distinct and dissimilar races, it has been followed by incessant insurrection, anarchy, poverty, vice, and barbarism.

When the Union between the North and South, under our present Constitution was formed, the social, political, and economical operation of the institutions peculiar to each, were matters of theory and conjecture. We have now had the experience of half a century; and the result is before us in the

facts I have presented—facts against which neither speculative philosophy, nor sectional prejudice, egotism or fanaticism can prevail.

It will be observed I do not compare the whole people of the North with the whole population of the South. I am *now* comparing the whites only of both sections; it being the first object to ascertain the effects of their respective institutions on the whites of the two sections. I do not compare Northern cities with Southern—but the white people, rural and urban, together of one section with those of the other. I have referred more particularly to Northern cities, because they contain so large, if not the largest, portion of Northern population—and are the boast and characteristic of the Northern system. I have also preferred to compare the old States of the sections not only because they are similar in climate and productions, but because in them the effects of the two systems are more developed, and as has been contended to the great disadvantage of the South.

There is a class of topics of a more intangible nature, but not the less important, and which are much insisted on in this controversy, that now remain to be briefly considered. It is urged that religion and education are more prevalent and flourishing in the North than in the South. It is true that the form of religion existing in New England, and by law established, was extremely strict and self-denying: as that of Virginia—the Episcopal—was then one of the most indulgent of Protestant sects. But it is well known that the Puritan character has been rapidly degenerating and passing away. Indeed the forms of that faith are no longer dominant in Boston, the ancient seat of its power, and in their place the Unitarians have prevailed, and they are gaining ground rapidly in New England. A change has occurred in Virginia, but a change in the opposite direction. Instead of the Episcopalians, the Baptists are predominant in Virginia. Thus, under the operation of their respective institutions the religion of Massachusetts has receded from one of the most strict to one of the most relaxed systems of the Protestant faith—while Virginia has advanced from one of the most indulgent, to one of the stricter forms of religious discipline. There are no means of ascertaining the number of members in all the churches in the several States. Virginia has about 80,000 of Baptists alone; she has 30,000 Methodists,* and a larger proportion yet of Episcopalians than any other State. Altogether she must have her full proportion.

But it is in Education that the North claims the great pre-

* American Almanac.

eminence over the South. In Massachusetts, according to the census of 1840, there were but 4,448 white persons above the age of twenty who could not read and write—and in Virginia there were 58,787. In Ohio there were 35,364; in Kentucky 40,016. In Illinois 27,502; in Mississippi 8,360. Thus it appears that whilst there are more than twelve times as many illiterate persons in the oldest Southern as in the oldest Northern State, the proportion changes as we advance Westward, until we find a greater proportion of them in a new State of the North than in one of the South. And thus it seems that in the new States where children are not educated at public expense, and where, therefore, their parents must provide for them, the children of the South are better educated; or rather, perhaps, it would seem, that the emigration from the North is much more ignorant than the South. Still, however, the odds of school instruction are decidedly with the North. This results from obvious causes. The territorial area of Virginia is probably nine times as great as that of Massachusetts. If, therefore, Virginia were disposed to adopt the common school system, it would require nine times the school-houses and teachers to afford the same conveniences for attending school that exist in Massachusetts. Virginia is a thinly settled agricultural State, intersected by several ranges of mountains. In many places there could not be found ten scholars in ten miles square. In such places a population might be able to live comfortably, but not to establish a school, or send their children abroad to boarding schools. Hence there must be a considerable number without schools. In commercial and manufacturing States, or those of small farms and dense agricultural population, this evil is not so much felt.

But Virginia has a system of oral instruction which compensates for the want of schools, and that is her social intercourse. The social intercourse of the South is probably much greater than that of any people that ever existed. There is certainly nothing like the number of visits among the families of a city or even the same square in a city, as prevails in the country of the South. And these visits are not fashionable calls, but last for days and weeks—and they are the great resource of the South for instruction and amusement. It is true that persons are not taught at such places to read or write, but they are taught to think and converse. They are the occasions of interchanging opinions and diffusing intelligence;—and to perform the duties, to enjoy the pleasures of such intercourse, to please, to shine, and to captivate, requires a degree of mental culture which no custom of the North so much demands. Accordingly the South exhibits the remarkable phenomenon of an agricultural people, distinguished above

all others of the present day by the elegance of their manners and the intellectual tone of their society.

The North excels in books. In History, she has Bancroft and Prescott; in Poetry, Bryant, Halleck, and Whittier; in Criticism, Everett and Channing. In Sculpture, she has produced a Powers. Her Franklin has drawn the lightning from heaven, and taught it to play harmlessly around our very hearth—her Morse has even given letters to lightning, and lightning to letters! The North excels in the arts and the physical sciences, in inventions and improvements. She excels in associative action, not merely for railroad and manufactures, but for literary, benevolent and religious objects. I do not desire to detract one iota from her exalted merits and high civilization. But in individual character and individual action, the South excels. For a warm heart and open hand, for sympathy of feeling, fidelity of friendship, and high sense of honor; for knowledge of the sublime mechanism of man, and reason and eloquence to delight, to instruct and to direct him, the South is superior; and when the North comes into action with the South, man to man, in council or in the field, the genius of the South has prevailed from the days of Jefferson to Calhoun, from Washington to Taylor. And it is to solitude which the rural life of the South affords, so favorable to reflection; and it is to the elevated rural society of the South so favorable for the study of human nature, that we must ascribe those qualities of persuasion and self-command by which her statesmen and captains have moved the public councils, and won so many a field.

The abolition of African slavery in the South has been urged for many years by a portion of Northern people. And now its restriction to its present territorial limits is the avowed purpose of almost every Northern State. The basis on which this policy rests, is the assumption that slavery is sinful and unprofitable. The means now relied on to arrest its future progress is not the persuasion of the people of the slaveholding States, but the numerical power of the free States acting through the Federal Government. Suppose now the South had a majority of votes, and were to announce its determination to arrest the further progress of commerce and manufactures in consequence of their poverty, pauperism, crime, and mortality, what would be the sentiment every where felt in the North? Why, one of indignation, scorn, and resistance. Such does the South feel now?

When the North American colonies confederated for resistance to Great Britain, the territorial area of the Southern portion of them was 648,202 square miles—that of the Northern only 164,081, or about one-fourth as large. Virginia alone

had, by Royal charter, the whole Northwestern territory in her limits, and during the war had confirmed her title by the patriotism and valor of her own citizens—who rescued even Illinois from British power. But before the present constitution was formed Virginia, with a magnanimity almost infatuated, had ceded to the Confederacy, for the formation of free States, the whole Northwestern territory now constituting the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, containing 261,681 square miles, and making the territory of the free States rather more than that of the slaveholding. The object of this cession and the ordinance of 1787 was to equalize the area of the two sections. The acquisition of Louisiana in 1803, added 1,138,103 square miles to our territory, of which, by the Missouri compromise, the South obtained only 226,013 square miles, or about one-fifth—the other four-fifths, notwithstanding it came to us as a slaveholding province, were allotted to the North, which thus had acquired more than 700,000 square miles of territory over the South. Florida and Oregon were acquired by the treaty of 1819, by which the South got 59,268 square miles, and the North 341,463, making the North about 1,000,000 of square miles the most. In 1845 Texas was annexed, which added only 325,520 square miles to the South, even if all Texas were included. In 1848 we obtained 526,078 square miles more in the Territories of New Mexico and California.* And now the North claims the whole of this also—and not only this but half of Texas besides, which would make the share of the North exceed that of the South nearly 1,500,000 square miles—a territory about equal in extent to the whole Valley of the Mississippi, and leaving the South only about 810,812 square miles, while the North retains 2,097,124, or nearly three-fourths of the whole! And this too when the South contributed her full share of the men and money by which the whole territory was obtained. In the Revolutionary war the South furnished an average of 16,714 men in each year, and the North 25,875, which nearly corresponds with their respective number of citizens, and that, too, although the war was waged chiefly against the large cities of the North—cities being in war the most tempting and the most vulnerable points of attack. In the war with Mexico the South supplied two-thirds of the volunteers which constituted three-fourths of the entire force employed. The revenue by which these wars have been supported, the public debt paid, and the price for the territory furnished, has been raised chiefly by duties which have notoriously operated designedly and incidentally to promote the industry and capital of the North, and to oppress those of the South.

* See Compendium of the Census for the exact figures of area, p. 32.—EDITOR.

If after all this the South should submit to be plundered of her share of the territory now in dispute, when, as an agricultural people, she requires her full proportion, she would be recreant to her interests, her power, her right, her honor, and her fame—recreant to her history and her destiny.

One of the proposed objects of these Northern reforms is to promote the prosperity of the South. I have shown that she wants none of their aid, and that there are at home thousands of criminals to reform and hundreds of thousands of paupers to be relieved, on whom their philanthropy may be exhausted.

Is it for the welfare of the slave they are contending? I hold it to be the duty even of him who undertakes to subvert the established order of things, to manifest at least as much respect for experience as experiment, and it so happens that the experience of emancipation has been ample and diversified.

In Hayti, the black, after exterminating the white population, remained independent and isolated, the exclusive architect of its own institutions and destiny. The result is that they have relapsed into pristine barbarism. The exports of Hayti amounted in 1789 to about twenty-five millions of dollars—they do not now amount to one-tenth of that sum. The Haytien contents himself with the cultivation of a few yams for a mere subsistence, and a mere hut for a dwelling. The blacks and mulattoes are at civil war, and yesterday's papers announced that an army of twenty thousand men was advancing against the principal town, Port au Prince.

Another plan of emancipation is to send the liberated to Liberia. But besides the expense of such a system, which renders it impracticable, it is attended with the death of from one-fourth to one-half of the emigrants by the coast fever.

The third plan attempted is that by the British in their West Indies—the plan of gradual abolition by apprenticeship and ultimate equality of black and white; and this also has failed. The exports of Jamaica have already, in the first ten years of the experiment, fallen one-half. The negroes refuse to work even for high wages, beyond what is necessary for mere subsistence, the planters are bankrupt, plantations are already abandoned, and the island is hastening to the condition of Hayti.

The fourth plan of emancipation is that which has been going on with us. That of manumission by the will of the master, the freedman remaining with black and white, or seeking other States. This experiment has not succeeded. The emancipated slave does not appear to be willing to perform the amount of work necessary to enable him to compete successfully with the white laborer. In the State of New York the Constitution conferred the right of suffrage on col-

ored persons owning \$250 worth of property. Yet in the city of New York in 1845, out of 11,939 colored people there were only 183 voters; and notwithstanding their numbers are augmented by frequent manumissions and fugitive slaves, they do not increase so rapidly as the slave population, which is evidence that their condition is not so comfortable. It is also a curious fact that of 386,293 free persons of color in 1840, nearly half (183,766) preferred to remain in the slave States, where certainly, as a class, they are treated with no peculiar favor. In Massachusetts, where so much sympathy is expressed for them, they cannot or will not live. There are less now of them in Boston than there was twenty years ago, and in both Virginia and Massachusetts there are ten times as many free colored people in the penitentiary as their proportion of the white population. Is it then for the sake of such emancipation as the West Indian, which results in idleness, barbarism, and civil war among the blacks, or for Liberian, which exterminates, or the American, which subjects them to crime and want, that philanthropy would undertake to overturn the unrivalled system of Southern civilization.

But we are told that slavery is an evil. Well, so is war an evil, and so perhaps is government itself an evil, since it also is an abridgment of liberty. But one of the first objects of our Constitution is to provide for war—for the common defense. And the people of the United States prefer the evil of war to the greater evils of being plundered and subdued. They prefer the evil of government to the greater evil of anarchy. So the people of the South prefer slavery to the evils of a dense manufacturing and commercial population which appear to be inevitable without it; and the black man may prefer the slavery of the South to the want, the crime, the barbarism and blood which attend his race in all other countries. In the practical affairs of human life in its present state, choice of evils is frequently all that is in our power. Good and evil in fact become relative and not positive terms. And the necessity is recognized by the example of our Saviour, who applied the extreme remedy of the lash to the money changers who profaned the temple. It is consistent for a rigid sect like the Quakers to oppose slavery, because they proscribe and repudiate war and luxury and all other evils. And we may all hope for the time to come, when in the progress of Christianity the evils of slavery in the South, and those of pauperism, crime, and mortality in the North will be greatly mitigated or abolished.* But the North can now make no protest against

* Mr. Fisher's admissions in this paragraph though qualified, are still not such as the Southern people are prepared to make. They do not and can not believe slavery an evil.—EDITOR.

the South, because the luxurious system of Northern civilization not only subjects the great mass of people to unwonted labor and privation, but actually sacrifices in peace a greater amount of life than is usually expended by communities at war. If then the welfare of neither white nor black in the South would be promoted by the restriction or abolition of slavery, would the prosperity of the North be advanced? The only thing of which the North complains on its own account is the ratio of representation fixed by the Constitution which gives the South a vote equal to three-fifths of the blacks. But on the other hand, in consequence of the existence of slavery in the South, the North has a monopoly of foreign emigration. This amounted as we have seen from 1829 to 1840 to a million and a half, including its increase. In the previous thirty years it must have been, with its increase to this day, at least half a million more. Since 1840 it has amounted to a million besides. So that the North has the vote and the power of three millions of people against the political power which slavery now confers, and that is equivalent to a white population only of about two millions.

And furthermore, by the peculiar agricultural employment of Southern industry and capital, the South is a customer and and consumer of Northern manufactures and commerce and of Northwestern agriculture. Abolish slavery and convert the South into a people of mechanics, artisans, and merchants, and instead of being a customer, she becomes a competitor of the other section. And if the march of pauperism, crime, and mortality of the North be so great now, what would it be then?

The condition of modern civilization is far more laborious and oppressive than the ancient. The seats of ancient science and the arts were in the mild climates of the Mediterranean shore, or in the South of Asia and Europe. And in America the ruins of her unrecorded civilization are to be found in Palenque and Copan, all in a similar climate. The genius of England has carried civilization to a more Northern latitude, and that of America has extended it, if not higher in latitude, to a still more rigorous climate than that of England. The wants of such a climate are great and imperious. The cost of fuel alone in the city of New York exceeds \$16,000,000 annually. The clothing must be much warmer, the houses more substantial, the food more nourishing, and all more expensive than a milder climate. And this great augmentation of the burthens of civilized life must be borne in the North by freemen, not as of old by slaves. Hence have we seen the fearful struggle of Northern labor for subsistence; notwithstanding the immense aid it has derived from modern machinery and invention. But take from that labor the custom, and sub-

ject it to the competition of the South, where so much less is required for subsistence, and that so much cheaper, and the result would be as ruinous to the present system of the North as to that of the South. These two great systems have grown up together. That of the North could not have so much expanded without a market in Southern agriculture—nor could this have grown so great but for the demand and supplies of the North. Together they have flourished; together they must falter and fall. To restrict, therefore, the territorial extension of the South, and by circumscribing its industry render it unprofitable, is to restrict and paralyze the prosperity of the North in all its departments. Together these institutions have marched harmoniously to that eminence and success which have won the prosperity of both at home and extorted the admiration of the world abroad. If either should fall by the hand of the other, the crime would not only be fratricide—it would be suicide; and over the mouldering ruins of both would deserve to be written the epitaph: Here were a people who disputed about the capacity of the African for liberty and civilization, and did not themselves possess the capacity to preserve their own.

CONSEQUENCES OF ABOLITION AGITATION.

BY EDWIN RUFFIN, OF VIRGINIA.

NO. III.

Before coming to the particular matter of the navigation of the Mississippi, when under separate proprietors, it will be necessary to look to general principles, as furnished by the laws of nations, and to the past history and present usages of Europe, in respect to the general subject.

When the Roman Empire extended over the whole of the known civilized world, and much of the barbarian world, the Roman law, as to the rights of different countries and dominions, was the only law of nations. It not only was recognized and obeyed then, but its main and manifestly good principles were preserved and respected, if not always obeyed, in the understood commercial and political regulations between the many succeeding dominations of Europe in the middle ages. The ancient Roman law and the modern acknowledged laws of nations, both maintain the right of every nation, possessing one or both sides of the upper waters of a navigable river, to use the lower waters and outlet of the river, for navigation, and to transport its commodities to the ocean, or to foreign markets. The vessels and their freights of the upper country, so using the waters of a lower, while enjoying the benefit of free passage, are, of course, bound to respect the municipal laws of the country through which the lower navigation

passes, and to bear any reasonable charges (of inspection, &c.,) necessary to prevent violation of these laws. Except for these necessary restrictions and safeguards of defence, the passage would be entirely free to vessels and people of the upper country, so long as the two countries were at peace. War between the neighboring powers, only would alter these, as it must alter all the other relations of peace.

It is true, that with the general recognition of this law of nations, there had been many attempted violations of its principle; and some of them, for a time, have been successful. But at the Congress of Vienna, in which all the great powers of Europe acted for themselves and for all the minor powers also, this great principle of the laws of nations was formally recognized and definitely explained, and made obligatory by treaty stipulations. Before that time, or if it should happen again hereafter, the particular violations of this law of nations would be no reason for general disregard, or for deeming it null and of no obligation. There is scarcely any provision of the laws of nations and especially of the laws of war, which has not been violated. Yet, the laws so infringed continue to be respected and deemed obligatory, and are generally obeyed. These exceptional violations are more and more rare as the world advances in age and in civilization, and governments and communities learn better to understand their own true interests. There will be little reason to expect future violations of this rule of free navigation by any civilized country; and, least of all, in regard to the common right of the Mississippi, which both the proprietary powers would be so deeply interested in preserving.

The law of nations in this respect, and the rights claimed under this law, are of less importance in this discussion than the actual practice and usages and the experience of Europe, and of the civilized world. All the great rivers of Europe, except a few in Russia, are, and mostly have been since the overrunning and dissolution of the Western Roman Empire, in precisely the situation which, for the Mississippi, is generally supposed would be an inevitable cause for war. If this doctrine is true or worth anything as to the Mississippi, then it would be as true of every other navigable river, of which different portions passed through different dominions. Now, precisely such divided property is held by different sovereign States in the upper and lower navigable waters of the Danube, the Rhine, the Po, the Elbe, (which passes through no less than seven separate dominions,) the Weser, the Vistula, the Niemen, the Dniester, the Scheldt, the Meuse, (and Maese,) the Moselle, the Douro, and the Oder in connection with its navigable tributary the Warta. Among the sovereign powers to which these divided properties of soil, and joint rights of navigation belong, are Russia, Turkey, Austria, Bavaria, Prussia, Hanover, Piedmont, Lombardy, (before being Austrian,) Belgium, Holland, Portugal, and Spain, besides other smaller powers. If then the mere condition of two or more powers, possessing severally the upper, or middle and lower waters of a navigable river, was a sufficient and sure cause of discord and war, all these countries would have been involved in war for ten centuries, or throughout the whole time of their separate political existences. Yet, many as have been the wars, and trivial their causes in most cases, not one

is remembered to have been produced by this cause alone. Some temporary difficulties have indeed occurred—and some wrongs have been inflicted, in this as in numerous other cases of supposed conflicting interests, by the strong on the weak. But though connected with these joint rights of navigation, these difficulties and injuries have in no case amounted, (at least in recent times,) to a permanent denial, by the power on the lower waters of a river, of the navigation and passage of the vessels of the upper country, to foreign markets. An exception to this position may appear to be presented in the noted case of the long continued closing of the lower Scheldt, where it passes through the territory of the former Dutch republic to the sea, against the vessels of the then Spanish and afterwards Austrian Netherlands, (now Belgium,) on the upper waters. And when Joseph II. of Austria, becoming the master of the before Spanish Netherlands, attempted to re-open this passage, the vessel sent by his order was fired upon and stopped by the Dutch fort on the Scheldt—and the Austrian power had to submit to be thus thwarted by a much weaker nation, whose right was sustained by the approval of Europe, and the faith of treaties. For this restriction, absurd as it was in a commercial aspect, was a solemn stipulation of the treaty of Westphalia, agreed upon for political considerations, by all the powers that concurred in making and maintaining that memorable treaty. This exceptional departure from the acknowledged general law of nations, was neither designed as a violation or abrogation of that law, nor a denial of its obligation in this case by Holland alone. As such, it would have had no force, and no power would have dared to attempt the course. But it was an agreement made by all the great powers of Europe, demanded by one part and acceded to by the other, as necessary to protect Holland, and in Holland, the protestant interest of Europe, by preventing the continual and easy ingress of the inimical and dreaded power possessing the upper waters. Besides, there were other important considerations. This was not the only passage, though the most convenient for the trade of the Spanish Netherlands. And further, the Dutch claimed that the navigation of the lower Scheldt was an artificial passage, opened formerly by their own industry. Thus, the Scheldt remained closed for some 150 years, until the French Republic, after becoming possessor of Belgium, forced and kept open the passage. But this act was deemed a cause of war, and was so counted in the war which soon followed between France and Great Britain and Holland. But even this long respected restriction has since been removed, and the lower Scheldt, as all other rivers in Europe held by different powers, under both the law of nations, and the treaty of Vienna, is of free navigation.

For centuries past, as now, Denmark has collected the "Sound Dues," or a tax levied on all vessels entering the Baltic sea—and Hanover in like manner levies the "Stade Dues" on all vessels entering the Elbe. But wrongful and extortionate as these charges are, (and as such, our Government has done well in resisting them,) they were originally demanded, and paid, not because of ownership on the lower waters but on the ground of supporting light-houses and beacons, and paying other expenses for facilitating the safe passage of vessels.

Perhaps unjust and vexatious claims may have been set up to obstruct or to tax navigation and trade in many other cases, where might defined right. But it is believed that, at this time, nowhere is the possession of the outlet of a river claimed, *per se*, as ground of right, and exercised as such, to exclude or to obstruct the passage of the vessels of a power owning the higher waters of the river. In stating this proposition reference is had to civilized nations and to recent times, and not to such exclusive policy as was adopted by Spain for her former American dominions, (and of which both the policy and the dominion have long been at an end,) and which would still be enforced (if such cases existed) in China and Japan. Even the government of Brazil, narrow-minded as it is, and both jealous and fearful of the entrance of foreigners, and strong, too, compared to all the neighboring dominions, does not pretend to oppose the passage of the vessels and freights of of Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru from passing from their own upper and tributary waters down the Amazon to the ocean, or returning, through thousands of miles extent of Brazilian territory on both sides of the river. All that Brazil has claimed is, that the countries on the upper waters shall be the carriers of their own trade through Brazil, and that the route shall not be opened to all foreigners who may desire its use, to trade with the upper countries, or for any other purpose.

At this time Russia is striving to keep possession of the Isle of Serpents, near the mouth of the Danube, and the other great powers and parties to the late treaty of Paris are as anxious and determined to exclude Russia from the possession. Both parties understand that the possessor of this island, if able to hold it, will, in time of war, command the outlet and control the navigation of the Danube. This, indeed, would only be available during war. But it would then be a most formidable advantage to be possessed by a power so strong as Russia, and which has very little territory on or very near the Danube, and therefore would not suffer materially by closing its navigation. This case is entirely different from that supposed of the Mississippi; and yet, with all the danger to the dominions on the Danube, of the Emperor of Russia occupying merely the mouth of that river, even he would not dare to close or obstruct the navigation, except in war, and to his enemy in arms.

In applying the foregoing views to the particular case of the Mississippi, it is clear that, in the event of separate proprietorship, the lower occupant would have no right either to close or to obstruct the passage of the vessels and freights of the upper occupants. But there is still better assurance that there would be no such attempt, because, in time of peace, there can be no possible inducement for such a course, even if to be effected with certainty, and without danger of war, or reprisals, from the upper country.

The city of New Orleans derives nearly all its immense trade and wealth from the purchasing, or forwarding, and furnishing commodities in exchange for the products of the higher waters of the Mississippi, and (it may be and must be hereafter) mainly from the non-slaveholding region. Now, under any peaceful circumstances, what inducements can possibly operate on the city of New Orleans, or on the State of

Louisiana, or on any of the States bordering on the lower river, to exclude or to discourage by burdensome exactions, the free passage of the vessels and products which brings all the business and profits of the city, and is so greatly beneficial to the whole neighboring country! On the contrary, would not every reasonable facility be afforded for this trade, to prevent its being diverted, as much as possible, to New York and other Northern markets? And if there was no such action, and no motive for the proprietor of the lower waters to obstruct the trade of the upper proprietor, what ground would the latter have for complaint? And on what possible ground could either the upper or the lower power go to war with the other, for the benefits of a navigation and trade already fully enjoyed, and which enjoyment could only be prevented, and certainly would be prevented, by the very act of war! The contrary assumptions, or the equivalent assertions of the danger of and even necessity for war, merely on this ground, are so preposterous that they would not deserve to be answered, but for their extended currency.

If a government or private association constructs a canal, or a new artificial passage for navigation, through the territory belonging to the proprietor of the work, the proprietor has undoubtedly the right to forbid the passage to all foreigners, however beneficial to them the new facility might be. But was there ever such a prohibition, or even discriminating and heavier tolls and charges on foreigners, ever adopted in such a case? Or has any one ever feared such impositions! No such obstructions can possibly exist, until self-interest shall cease to direct the conduct of man. The State of New York, and Canada, have both opened canals to unite the navigation of the great lakes with the Atlantic. Each of these artificial passages may be used to great benefit by the people of the other country. And, so far from obstructing these uses, New York desires and strives to be the carrier for Upper Canada, and the Canadian canals are as open to convey American vessels to the lower St. Lawrence. But lately a vessel laden with flour sailed from Chicago, and without unlading or trans-shipment of cargo, passed through the Welland canal, around the cataract of Niagara, and from Lake Ontario through the Rideau canal to the Utawas, and thence into the St. Lawrence, and across the Atlantic to Liverpool.

In former times there was much diplomatic argument and conflicting claims, between the British and American Governments, as to the right of navigation of the St. Lawrence by American vessels. Probably each party claimed too much—the American Government for the perfect right to navigate the river, and the British Government the right to exclude American navigation. All these theoretical difficulties were finally settled by the recent "Reciprocity Treaty." But previous to that treaty being made, and in time of peace between the two countries, American vessels were (as now) as free to navigate the river as Canadian vessels. From Lake Ontario to near Montreal, the downward navigation is so difficult, because of the numerous rapids, that it is of little use to freight and sailing vessels, or to any that could venture to

cross the Atlantic. To ascend the river it is necessary to use the Canadian canals.

It is very true, and is so obvious as scarcely to need being stated, that the occurrence of war between two nations occupying the upper and lower navigable waters of a river, or the different places of production and of sale thereon, would necessarily shut out either party from navigating the waters of the other, and would prevent the continuance of the previous friendly trade. But the prospect of this sure and heavy penalty for war, and of the certain and great losses which would thence accrue to both nations, would serve as the strongest possible reason and inducement for the preservation of peace. Therefore, if the Mississippi was held in separate occupancy of its upper and lower waters, instead of this great river being a continual provocation to war, it would be the strongest possible bond of peace between the respective proprietary powers. For neither power could break the peace, without immediately and entirely cutting off the trade which had been the chief source of its prosperity and wealth.

In cases of war between two powers, thus holding the upper and lower portions of a navigable river, though both countries would suffer greatly, it would not be equally. Undoubtedly, for military or naval operations, the holder of the lower waters, or their outlet to the ocean, would have a great advantage over the upper proprietor. Hence, it is fortunate for the South, and for the better preservation of peace, that in every case of such prospective divided proprietorship of navigable rivers or straits, the weaker Southern States will hold the lower, and the Northern, which is the stronger, and also the aggressive power, will possess the upper navigable waters. The most noted and important case is the Mississippi river. But, though much the strongest, it is not the only such bond of peace. There are other cases, presented in the Ohio river, and in the Delaware, and still more the Chesapeake bay. These facts offer most important subjects for consideration, for the States and cities most interested in these future relations, which need not be pursued here.

Of course, all independent States are liable, at some times, to have causes of war with neighboring powers, or to be involved in war, whether with or without good cause. From this universal liability, the separated and independent Northern and Southern confederacies would not be exempt. Either, indeed, might make war on the other, if choosing the hazards of war, in preference to the benefits of peace. So the United States might have gone to war, (and as then deemed, for just causes,) in a dozen cases, with England, France, or other powers, where no war occurred, and where all differences were subsequently settled by peaceful negotiation. If the Northern and Southern States were two separate and independent powers, each would gain more by cultivating and preserving peace with the other, and each would lose and suffer more by being at war, without any possibility of gain, than would be in regard to any other two nations in the world. Under such circumstances may we not safely anticipate that peace would be maintained?

THE UNION AND THE RIGHTS OF THE STATES.

THE EXISTENCE OF DIVERSITIES AMONG THE STATES—THE VITAL PRINCIPLE OF STATES' RIGHTS, AND THE CEMENT OF THE UNION.

The reasonings of the author of this paper, furnished for publication in the Review, are able, ingenious, and novel. He is more hopeful, however, of the Union than it seems to us the signs of the times would warrant. No matter. Let us examine the subject in all its bearings. By the author it is denied that either a Southern or Northern Union would be practicable. Where either side then are in one condition, the argument is stronger against the endurance of wrong and oppression to secure union. But we do not admit that they are in the same condition, and have demonstrated, time after time, that the self-sustaining capacity of the South is incomparably greater than that of the North.—
EDITOR.

A century or more ago, it was a very generally conceded point, in the science of government, that republics are unsuited to powerful and extended States, and are only suited to States of small territorial extent, whose populations are homogeneous in interests, wants, manners, customs, habits of thought, religion, etc.

It was contended that it was impossible for a government that draws its powers from the people, and legislates through representatives chosen by them, to frame general laws suitable for a State in which exist antagonistic or inharmonious interests, wants, manners, customs, etc., and that the requisite homogeneity is not attainable except in States of small territorial extent.

To show the correctness of the latter proposition, it was argued that mere differences in climate, *which must necessarily exist in a large State*, would cause differences in manners, customs, etc., and that the conflicting commercial interests of a State might be, and likely would be, as many as the navigable rivers within its limits.

The representatives of the people of a republic of widely extended territorial limits, it was contended, would be the representatives of so many and of such varied or conflicting interests as to make it *improbable* that a majority of them could ever agree on general laws for the government of the whole, and *impossible*, could they agree, to frame such general laws as would be wise and proper.

By such a process of reasoning, was it, that the statesmen of Europe arrived at the conclusion, that the republican form of government is unsuited to extended and powerful States.

It is evident that general laws, which will be wise, proper, and satisfactory, *cannot* be framed for the government of a large State, whose people have numerous and conflicting interests and wants.

We admit this to be a correct proposition, but assert that *it is not applicable to republics only*. It is JUST AS TRUE OF MONARCHIES.

Statesmen, whose hopes of preferment were dependent on the monarchs who ruled Europe, directed the force of the principle against republics, and not against monarchies as well, and experience seemed to confirm their theory of the practicability of the latter, and the impracticability of the former.

Republics had fallen as soon as they became of sufficient importance to attract the world's notice, while monarchies of advancing power ruled civilized Europe and uncivilized Asia.

Though statesmen, animated by the instinct of self-interest, have failed to apply the principle to the governments by which they derive honor and place, yet it is evident that it is a *general principle, applicable to all forms of government*, and not to republics only, that a wise, proper, and satisfactory system or code of general laws, adequate to the wants of a community, cannot be devised for a State whose people have conflicting or inharmonious interests and wants.

Though it be true that monarchies have survived while republics have perished in Europe, this has been—not because of the good laws of one and the bad laws of the other form of government, but because despite unwise and oppressive laws, the subjects of a monarchy are held in subjection by the bayonets of the monarch.

We concede that in absolute governments there exists a more effective power than in republics to enforce obedience to unwise or oppressive laws. This concession in no wise militates against the stability of republics, for in them the desideratum is not to make or to give the power to enforce oppressive laws. To carry out the theory of republican governments, the extent of power requisite is the amount necessary to enforce laws for the general benefit made by the majority acting in pursuance of law through their representatives. It is not desirable to arm the government with power to make and enforce laws repugnant to the popular will, and opposed to general interest. It is sufficient if it have the power to carry out the will of the people constitutionally expressed.

In practice monarchies have acknowledged their incapacity to devise a wise and satisfactory system of general laws, adequate to the wants of a community, whose people have diverse or conflicting interests and wants.

Rome, as she increased in power and territorial extent, felt and acknowledged her incapacity to draw up a code of general laws suited to her whole people. Her pro-consulor system was devised to provide *local* laws for the conquered provinces, as well as to reward distinguished or favored citizens.

This was a practical admission of the impossibility of legislating wisely by a *uniform* code for the government of the whole.

Spain made the same admission when she established her provincial governments, and England when she established her colonial governments.

France, as monarchy and republic, illustrates our principle.

Under each a uniform code for the whole was given in Paris.

The monarchies were broken to pieces by revolutions despite the military force of the monarchs and the republics failed despite the love of liberty which animates the French people.

The discontent of the people of France, in each case, was caused by the attempt to accomplish an *impossibility*, that is, to legislate wisely and satisfactorily for a great and powerful people, having a multiplicity of diverse wants, by a uniform general code.

In framing our system of Government, of *which the States are essential component parts*, our ancestors did not attempt the impossibility which has thus far baffled the efforts of the liberty-loving French to establish a republic.

We are not left to conjecture that the principle for which we contend was had in view by the framers of the Constitution.

The debates in the conventions held in the different States to determine the question of accession to the constitutional Union, abundantly show that this was a conceded principle.

In the New York convention Mr. Melancton Smith said : "The *State governments* are necessary for certain local purposes; the *General Government* for national purposes. The latter ought to rest on the former, not only in its form, but in its operations." * * * "In a country where a portion of the people live more than twelve hundred miles from the centre, *I think that one body cannot possibly legislate for the whole.*" * * * "Another idea is in my mind, which, I think conclusive against a *simple* government for the United States." * * * "The State constitutions should be the guardians of our domestic rights and interests, and should be both the support and the check of the Federal Government." * * * "He considered that the great interests and liberties of the people could only be secured by the State governments."

Governor Clinton said, "when we take a view of the United States, we find them embracing interests as various as their territory is extensive. Their habits, their productions, their resources, and their political and commercial regulations, are as different as those of any nation upon earth. *A general law, therefore, which might be well calculated for Georgia, might*

operate most disadvantageously and cruelly upon New York. However, I only suggest these observations, for the purpose of having them satisfactorily answered. I am open to conviction, and if my objections can be removed, I shall be ready, frankly to acknowledge their weakness."

Alexander Hamilton said, "the people have an obvious and powerful protection in the State governments." * * * "Where, in the organization of the government, the legislative, executive, and judicial branches are rendered distinct; where, again, the legislature is divided into separate houses, and the operations of each are controlled by various checks and balances, and, *above all*, by the vigilance and weight of the State governments—to talk of tyranny and the subversion of our liberties, is to speak the language of enthusiasm. This balance between the national and State governments ought to be dwelt on, with peculiar attention, as it is of the utmost importance." * * * "An honorable member from Duchess (Mr. Smith) has observed, that the delegates from New York, (for example,) can have very little information of the local circumstances of Georgia or South Carolina, except from the representatives of those States; and on this ground insists upon the expediency of an enlargement of the representation; since, otherwise, the majority must rely too much on the information of a few. In order to determine whether there is any weight in this reasoning, let us consider the powers of the National Government, and compare them with the objects of State legislation. *The powers of the new Government are general*, and calculated to embrace the aggregate interests of the Union, and the general interest of each State so far as it stands in relation to the whole. The object of the State governments is to provide for their internal interests, as unconnected with the United States, and as composed of minute parts or districts." * * * "It has been asserted that the interests, habits, and manners of the thirteen States are different; and hence it is inferred that no general free government can suit them. This diversity of habits, &c., has been a favorite theme." * * * "I acknowledge that the local interests of the States are, in some degree various, and that there is some difference in the manners and habits." * * * "This diversity to the eye of a speculatist, may afford some marks of characteristic discrimination, but cannot form an impediment to the regular operation of those *general* powers which the Constitution gives to the United Government. Were the laws of the Union to new-model the internal police of any State; were they to alter or abrogate at a blow, the whole of its civil and criminal institutions; were they to penetrate the recesses of domestic life, and control in all respects, the private conduct of individuals,

there might be more force in the objection; and the same Constitution which was happily calculated for one State, might sacrifice the welfare of another." * * *

"The State governments are essentially necessary to the power and spirit of the general system." * * * "While the Constitution continues to be read, and its principles known, the States must, by every national man, be considered as essential component parts of the Union; and, therefore, the idea of sacrificing the former to the latter is inadmissible."

Mr. Jay said, "the adversaries of the plan seem to consider the General Government as possessing all the minute and local powers of the State governments." * * * "What are the objects of our State legislatures?" * * * "The objects of the General Government are not of this nature. They comprehend the interests of the States in relation to each other, and in relation to foreign powers."

In the Virginia convention, Mr. Corbin spoke as follows: "The honorable gentleman has objected to the Constitution on the old worn-out idea that a republican government is best calculated for a small territory." * * * "What has so often been deprecated will be removed by this plan. The extent of the United States cannot render this Government oppressive. The powers of the General Government are only of a general nature, and their object is to protect, defend, and strengthen the United States; but the internal administration of government is left to the State legislatures, who exclusively retain such powers as will give the States the advantages of small republics, without the danger commonly attendant on the weakness of such governments." * * * "A confederate government is, of all others, best calculated for an extensive country. Its component individual governments administer and afford all the local conveniences that the most compact governments can do, and the strength and energy of the confederacy may be equal to those of any government. A government of this kind may extend to all the Western World—nay, I may say, *ad infinitum*."

In view of the principle for which we contend, and conceding it on all hands, the framers of the Constitution proceeded to solve the problem in the science of government which had theretofore baffled the efforts of the wisest statesmen who had gone before them.

The problem in the science of government which our ancestors had to solve, was, *to give STRENGTH TO LIBERTY*.

Strength in a government and liberty to the people had been, therefore, antagonists.

It was reserved for our fathers to make them allies.

Strength was given by union, and liberty preserved by the State governments.

Without the State governments being "essential component parts" of the system, strength in the government must have been antagonistic to the liberty of the people.

Had the attempt been made to legislate, by a "*single body*" (as Congress) by a uniform general code for the whole United States, in proportion as the territory of the United States is more extended than that of France, and the habits, interests, manners, and customs among the people of the former more numerous and diverse than those among the people of the latter, so in the same proportion would the evils of alternate anarchy and despotism have been more distracting and cruel in the United States than in France.

The framers of the Constitution solved the problem and gave strength to liberty.

In the Union is strength, and in the State governments liberty.

That in the Union is strength, and in the State governments liberty, may be said to be the *cardinal principle* upon which our form of government was constituted.

The particular degree or intimacy of Union constituted by our ancestors secures the *maximum of strength* as well as the *maximum of liberty*.

There is a limit to the strength to be gained by increase of the closeness of the Union.

If an approach were made towards consolidation by an extension of the powers of the General Government over subjects now exclusively within the jurisdiction of the State governments, it is apparent that by every act of legislation by the former, which (designedly, through ignorance, or because of the impossibility of legislating wisely by a single body for the whole,) should injuriously affect local or State affairs, must weaken the feeling of affection or friendliness of the people of the States injuriously affected towards the General Government.

To disaffect any portion of the people must weaken our strength as a power among the nations.

To illustrate, no fair estimate of the relative strength of Russia and the United States can be made by mere comparison of population; for to arrive at the true strength in men of the former, from her sixty millions of population must be deducted all the unfriendly or disaffected, as the Circassians, etc., and the remainder thus found be still further diminished by the number of well-affected necessary to keep in check the disaffected.

By such a process alone can the ultimate strength in men of a nation be arrived at, and in particular is this true of republics, or of a confederacy of republics.

No one, for instance, would think of estimating, as a part of our available strength, the hostile, disaffected, or even neutral Indians, or, if accounts be true, the Mormons.

To arrive at our true strength, besides the deduction of these, there must also be deducted the number necessary to keep them in check.

The deduction to be made in this way, *on account of Indians*, is easy of ascertainment; but not so easy in the case of the Mormons or *other white race*, for the reason that, in the latter case, the inimical are not so distinguishable.

So, if, from any cause, ill-feeling be engendered among the people of the States, among the States themselves towards the General Government, the strength of the United States as one of the powers of the Earth must be diminished, "as the people of the United States" are the white race *to an unknown degree*.

Inasmuch as it impossible by a single body (as Congress) to legislate beneficially for the whole United States, it is clear that our strength, as a people, must be diminished by consolidation or any advance towards it.

The maximum of strength, therefore, is gained by our constitutional Union, which leaves to the component parts, the States, the exclusive jurisdiction of regulating each for itself its local affairs.

By the same Union is also gained the maximum of liberty.

If legislation of any kind be made to affect the citizens of New York, *for the reason* that such legislation is necessary or proper in Georgia, it is evident that less freedom of action will, in that case, be enjoyed by the citizens of New York than if affected exclusively by such legislation as is wise and proper for them only, and so of any other State.

Both the maximum of strength, and the maximum of liberty, are gained by a Union such as ours, in which the General Government can constitutionally exercise only the *general powers* conceded by the States.

Before the accession of New York to the constitutional Union, in the convention held in that State, 1788, ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON in chaste and dignified language expressed his appreciation of the step about to be taken.

"Ever since a pure and perfect religion has lent her mild lights to philosophy, and extended her influence over the sentiments of men, it has been a received opinion that the happiness of nations as well as of individuals, depends on peace, and that intimate connection which mutual wants occasion. *To establish this on the basis of a general Union of nations*, has, at various times, employed the thoughts and attention of wise and virtuous men. It is said to have been the last great plan

of the illustrious Henry IV. of France, who was justly esteemed one of the wisest and best of princes. But, alas! sir, in the old world, every attempt of this nature will prove abortive. There, governments are the children of force or fraud, and carry with them strong features of their parents' character. Disputes will not be referred to a common umpire, unless that umpire has power to enforce his decrees; and how can it be expected that princes, zealous of power, will consent to sacrifice any portion of it to the happiness of their people, who are of little account in their estimation? Differences among them, therefore, will continue to be decided by the sword, and the blood of thousands will be shed before the most trifling controversy can be determined. Even peace can hardly be said to bestow her usual blessings on them; their mutual jealousies convert peace into an armed truce. The husbandman feels the oppression of standing armies, by whom the fruits of his labor are devoured; and the flower of youth is sacrificed to the rigors of military discipline. IT HAS PLEASED HEAVEN TO AFFORD TO THE UNITED STATES THE MEANS FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF THIS GREAT OBJECT WHICH IT HAS WITHHELD FROM OTHER NATIONS. They speak the same language; they profess the same religion; and what is of infinitely more importance, they acknowledge the same great principle of government—a principle, if not unknown at least little understood in the old world—that all power is derived from the people."

In the act of adopting our system of government, Mr. Livingston congratulated the New York convention that Heaven had vouchsafed to the United States, (by adopting the Constitution,) the means of carrying out the last great plan of the illustrious Henry IV., established on the basis of a general union of nations.

Grand and comprehensive as was the conception of Mr. Livingston of the capability of our system, seventy years have demonstrated that it fell short of the reality.

Already, two States and one territory, whose people do not "speak the same language," enjoy the benefits of our form of government.

LOUISIANA, one of whose constitutional languages is *French*, and CALIFORNIA, one of whose constitutional languages is *Spanish*, are now States of this Union of unimpeached patriotism and loyalty to the Constitution, and New Mexico is a territory the great mass of whose people are Spanish, and are peacefully and contentedly enjoying the substantial exercise of political power as to their local affairs.

"A confederate government (said Mr. Corbin) is of all others the best calculated for an extensive country. Its component individual governments administer and afford all the

local conveniences that the most compact governments can do; and the strength and energy of the Confederacy may be equal to those of any government.

"A GOVERNMENT OF THIS KIND MAY EXTEND TO ALL THE WESTERN WORLD; NAY, I MAY SAY, *ad infinitum*."

The experience of seventy years has demonstrated the correctness of this view.

From a letter of Mr. Wm. Darby, the Gazetteer, dated Dec. 13, 1852, we find the territorial increase of the United States since 1783, the date of our treaty with England to be as follows:

TABULAR VIEW.

	Square miles.
Extent of United States 1783.....	1,000,000
The acquisition of Louisiana, 1803—added.....	1,000,000
“ “ Florida, 1822—added.....	13,000
“ “ Texas, New Mexico, and California—added.....	1,400,000
Amount of territory of the United States, 1852....	3,413,000

Mr. Darby continues:

"In concluding these remarks, we find that the revolution itself endowed the United States with one million of square miles, equal to six hundred and forty millions of acres. The cession of Louisiana doubled the already immense estate in square miles and acres. Texas, New Mexico, and California, add the joint amount of one million four hundred and thirteen thousand square miles, or nine hundred and four million three hundred and twenty thousand acres, presenting an almost overwhelming result to the mind.

"If you allow fifty thousand square miles as the mean of States, the United States territory will admit sixty-eight!

"The most remarkable fact, perhaps, is the following, which is afforded by the history of the United States: The territory has risen to three million four hundred and thirteen thousand square miles; gaining, in seventy-seven years, forty-four thousand three hundred and twenty-five square miles *annually*. In other words, the *pro rata* of annual increase of territory exceeds the mean extent of the original States."

That this healthy increase has not only added to our national strength, *but has also made more stable our institutions, we think is certain.*

Events have shown that the great danger to our institutions, or rather to the Union, has grown out of a tendency to consolidation. Such tendency, as we have already shown, must diminish alike liberty and strength, and when the dissatisfac-

tion that must necessarily arise from the attempt to do the impossible thing of legislating wisely, by a uniform code, for the whole United States, becomes sufficiently great—DISUNION must be the inevitable result.

To counteract, therefore, the tendency to consolidation, is preservation of Union.

A little consideration must make it apparent that *homogeneousness is centripetal* as DIVERSITY IS CENTRIFUGAL in its tendency; that is, homogeneousness of the States and people of the whole Union, as to interests, wants, manners, customs, &c., tends to accumulate power in the central or General Government, and diversity to distribute it among the States.

Had the people of the thirteen original States, at the time of the formation of the Constitution been homogeneous in religion, there can be but little doubt that the power would have been granted to the General Government to establish the general religion; but as there was a diversity of religions among the people and States, the Constitution provided that "Congress shall make no law respecting an established religion."

Had the people of all the States been homogeneous in all things, the laws beneficial for one part being beneficial for all, economy would have dictated a single government for the whole.

Why maintain fourteen (one general and thirteen State) governments for a homogeneous people?

It is evident that for a homogeneous people a single government is the best.

Again: What States are those which most strenuously urge the importance of preserving the constitutional rights of the States? We answer, those States which have a peculiarity to protect, as slavery—a something different from that generally obtaining among other States—a *diversity*, the regulation of which their interest makes them unwilling to trust out of their own control.

The slaveholding States are all adherents of the doctrine of States' rights, and it must be admitted that from the discussions of the slave interest have been derived more knowledge of the true line of demarkation between the jurisdictions of the general and State governments, than from all other discussions taken together.

Any other diversity of equal magnitude and interest would produce a like adherence to the doctrine of States' rights.

It is clear, therefore, that territorial expansion, by which, a greater number of diversities are brought into the Union, and the tendency to consolidation thereby counteracted, is conservative of the constitutional balance between the general and State governments, and conservative of the Union.

The bonds of the Union have been strengthened by territorial expansion. Certainly, conservative strength has been gained by the admission as States, of Louisiana, Missouri, Florida, Arkansas, Texas, and California.

Territorial expansion, if not the law of our existence, has, thus far, at all events, augmented our strength and fortified our liberties.

By the same expansion by which our strength as a power among the nations has been augmented, the liberty of the people has been made more secure.

The *reason* for preserving in-tact the rights of the States to jurisdiction over all matters of local concernment is abundantly evident, as a single illustration will show.

It would sufficiently startle the people of New York to propose to them to agree that a body composed of but 35 members was to legislate for that State as to all matters of local concernment.

In vain it might be urged that such a body is sufficiently numerous to bring together in consultation accurate information as to all the varied interests in the State, and that being all New Yorkers and chosen by New Yorkers, a wholesome body of laws might be expected of them. The people of New York would reject such a proposition without hesitation. They would say the happiness and well-being of the three millions of inhabitants of New York is not to be trusted to 35 men, *even though all of them are of us and chosen by us.*

Bad as is such a proposition, by contrast it will appear good. Suppose the proposition made to trust the making of the local laws for New York to a body composed 296 members of whom 35 are to be chosen by the people of New York.

The people of New York would reject this latter proposition with less hesitation than the other.

It is evident, that the 35 New Yorkers, who alone of the entire body would be affected by the legislation, and who alone could be acquainted with the legislative wants of New York, would be lost among the number of strangers composing the body; strangers over whom the people of New York could have no legitimate control.

The overwhelming number of strangers composing the body would be the objection to this proposition.

Certainly the people of New York would prefer that the 35 chosen by them, uninfluenced and uncontrolled by strangers to their interests and their feelings, should be their legislators.

The former proposition would doubtless be esteemed infinitely preferable to the latter.

For Congress to legislate as to the local affairs of New York is identical with the latter proposition.

Congress is composed of 62 Senators, and 234 Representatives—296 *in all*, of whom New York choses 2 Senators and 33 Representatives—but 35 in all.

The weight of New York in the House of Representatives is one-seventh, and in the Senate $\frac{1}{11}$. We have selected New York for our illustration because it is the most populous of the States, and presents the least striking case.

The weight of Delaware in the House of Representatives is but $\frac{1}{11}$.

The wisdom of the principle of non-intervention is forcibly illustrated by recent unhappy events in the city of New York.

In contravention of the principle, that *each locality best understands and can best provide for its own legislative wants*, the central legislative authority at Albany has undertaken to regulate the local police of the city of New York, and this contravention of a sound principle has engendered a discontent that has manifested itself in bloody riots.

Constitutionally, the General Government cannot interfere with the States in the regulation of their local affairs; and that this is a wise provision, the disturbances in New York, (growing out of the violation of so just a principle,) clearly evince. We trust that a consideration of the inciting cause of these riots may not be without value, in impressing upon the minds of our Northern fellow-citizens, a due appreciation of the importance of preserving the balance between the State and General Governments, by a strict adherence to the constitutional doctrine of States' rights—a doctrine but little valued and understood outside of the Democratic party in the non-slaveholding States.

When viewed as an abstract proposition, the *reason* for adherence to the doctrine of States' rights, or non-intervention by the General Government in the local legislation of the component parts, is abundantly evident.

But however well-defined may be the path that reason points out as leading to our best and highest ultimate good, it is unhappily the fact that there is no certainty that men will pursue it should immediate present interest incline them in a different direction.

That is a wise policy or arrangement, therefore, by which the inclinations of interest are harmonized with the dictates of reason.

A governmental policy or arrangement, by which the path of reason is made the path of interest, has stability for its characteristic.

A diversity, (existing or acquired by territorial expansion,) the regulation of which, its possessors, from any cause, are desirous themselves exclusively to control, is an ever present

and ever acting interest, working in harmony with reason in restraint of intervention.

African slavery is a diversity of this kind; and its conservative value in the past, not only in preserving the balance established by the Constitution between the State and General Governments, but also in fixing, through discussion, the true lines of demarkation between their respective jurisdictions, cannot be over estimated.

A diversity is valuable in preserving the "component parts" from encroachment, in proportion as its possessors (*wielding control in their respective localities*) are sensitive concerning it. It must have control in its locality, else the weight of the locality (State) may not be thrown in opposition to encroachment upon the diversity.

Thus, the diversity of African slavery exists in the State of Delaware, but does not have control in that locality or component part of the Union; and hence, Delaware resists intervention to the extent, only, that *reason* influences men's actions.

Were the diversity of African slavery of sufficient magnitude in Delaware to have control there, an *effective* interest, exerting its power in the direction dictated by reason, would cause that the resistance by Delaware to intervention, would, as in Virginia and other States where slavery is the controlling interest, be vigilant, certain, and unceasing.

That diversities more or less influential must ever exist among the people and component parts of this widely extended Confederacy, or, as Chancellor Livingston called it, "general union of nations," is certain; and that every diversity tends, in some degree, to resist the concentration of power in the General Government, is also certain.

But as those diversities, only, which have control in the localities in which they exist, can make their weight directly felt in the Electoral College, and in Congress, it is to such diversities that we must chiefly look to counteract the tendency to consolidation.

It is the interest of every diversity, by resisting consolidation, to preserve the form of our government as constituted. But it is the controlling diversities only *that have the power, effectively and directly*, through Congress and the Electoral College, to carry out the suggestions of interest.

The incorporation, therefore, into the Union, by territorial expansion of controlling diversities, is conservative of the constitutional balance between the General and State governments, and conservative of the Union.

Diversity is the salt that savors and preserves our system of government.

That there is nothing paradoxical in this conclusion, a little consideration will make apparent.

The particular form of government under which we live was constituted in view of existing diversities. *It was adapted to diversity.*

Should diversity cease, the adaptedness must cease also.

Homogeneousness prevailing, reason and interest in harmonious alliance would work to change a system not adapted to existing circumstances.

Diversity continuing, reason and interest in harmonious alliance would work to preserve and continue a system adapted to existing circumstances.

Sound policy, therefore, clearly dictates, that in admitting new States, and in extending our limits, we should, as far as we constitutionally may, seek to bring into the Union controlling diversities.

So far as territorial acquisitions are concerned, we may freely and unrestrainedly accept or reject proffered territory.

In regard, however, to the admission of new States, the Constitution restrains the exercise, by the General Government, of any control in establishing the institutions of an inchoate State, *and also* in prohibiting the establishment of such institutions as the people of the inchoate State, at the time of framing their constitution, may choose.

The territories (the common property, acquired by the common blood and treasure of all the States,) are held by the General Government for the common benefit of all the States.

The attitude of trustee thus occupied by the General Government, carries with it the duty so to manage the trust property, that all the beneficiaries may alike have the opportunity of enjoying it. It should itself erect no barriers to prevent their free and equal freedom to enjoy, *or suffer it to be done by others.* It violates its clear duty as trustee, if, in any way, it excludes any of the beneficiaries from the perfect freedom to enjoy the trust property, or permits such exclusion by others whom it has power to restrain.

We will illustrate by the diversity of slavery.

The people of all the States have an equal right to settle in, and enjoy the territories—the people of the slaveholding States as well as the people of the non-slaveholding States, and it is the duty of Congress, under a Constitution designated to “establish justice,” to see that all the States for whom it is the trustee, shall be free to enjoy their common property, the territories.

To erect a barrier (in the nature of a proviso or otherwise) which will prevent the slaveholders from settling any territory, is an act of *commission* in violation of constitutional duty,

and to neglect to pass such laws as may be necessary to secure them in their perfect freedom to enjoy, is an act of *omission* in violation of constitutional duty. We need not argue that a duty may be as flagrantly violated by the failure to perform as by performance, by omission, as by commission.

It was well said in the Dred Scott case by the court, that "while the right (of a master to his slave) continues in full force under the guarantees of the Constitution, and cannot be divested or alienated by an act of Congress, *it necessarily remains a barrier and worthless right, unless sustained, protected, and enforced by appropriate police regulations and local legislation, prescribing adequate remedies for its violation.*"

Congress with the power in its hands, ought, as a matter of duty, being trustee to take such steps as may be necessary, to make available and of value, the *right* of the slaveholder to immigrate to the territories, by sustaining, protecting, and enforcing that right, and by prescribing adequate remedies for its violation.

Coming short of this, by act of omission, Congress violates its constitutional duty.

By legislating for the protection of slave property in the territories, Congress does not introduce slavery there, for if such laws existed as to the Territory of Washington, for example, it is easy to see that though slaves might, they would not be taken there. New Mexico is open to slavery, there is not, however, a single slave there owned by a resident citizen of that Territory. There may be a few—half a dozen—owned by officers of the army who are sojourners.

By legislating for the protection of slave property (in case it be not done by the territorial legislature) Congress merely complies with its duty as trustee for all the States, and makes free for settlement, by the people of all the States, the territories which are the common property of all the States.

We do not wish to be misunderstood to impeach the wisdom of the legislation of 1850, and the subsequent legislation in pursuance thereof.

The Nebraska-Kansas act meets our approbation. It was legislation in the right direction, though by it Congress did not discharge its complete and entire duty as trustee.

The Territory of Nebraska is an illustration of this. This is yet a Territory, and should be open to settlement by the people of all the States, and continue open to such settlement until admitted as a State.

The right of slaveholders to go there at this time (and it may not be a State for the next five years) is a barren and worthless right, because not "protected and enforced by appropriate police legislations."

The territorial legislature has not provided laws to make effective the right to hold this kind of property, although it has passed laws to make effective the right to hold other kind of property. Many other territories have heretofore pursued a like course, failing to protect slave property, and protecting all other kinds.

Congress is the responsible trustee, and should guard against a recurrence of this, by so legislating as to make of value a right now worthless.

In our view, the duty of Congress, under the Constitution, is in entire harmony with good policy in regard to the diversity of slavery.

Another of the Union preserving tendencies of diversities may here be touched on.

Among the component parts of the Union free-trade perfect and unrestrained prevails. But free-trade is valueless without diversity of production.

No farmer, for instance, will haul from his farm a load of hay to exchange for another load of hay; and no planter will send from his plantation a bale of cotton to trade for another bale of cotton; and so of any other product unmanufactured or manufactured.

Without diversity of production the liberty to trade will not promote traffic.

But cotton, rice, sugar, tobacco, and hemp, the products of slave labor, can be readily and beneficially exchanged for manufactured goods, the products of free labor; and the diversity of production which promotes such exchange causes a mutual dependence, which is conservative of the Union, by virtue of which, the free trade exists.

One of the logical results of our argument, is, that a "Southern confederacy," if set up, must fail, and *for want of diversity*.

In a homogeneous slaveholding confederacy, "States' rights" must soon die out. No State of such a confederacy can feel jealousy of the action of a Congress composed exclusively of the representatives of slaveholding constituencies. Vigilance will slumber, and a homogeneous confederacy of slaveholding republics drift by degrees into a monarchy, more or less limited.

In like manner, and for the same cause, the non-slaveholding States, (or any group of them,) as a separate confederacy, will rapidly centralize, for want of the centrifugal force which the diversity of slavery now gives, and the gloom of despotism speedily cover the land. Such, in our view, must be the result of a dissolution of the Union. But we will not pursue this topic.

The duties of citizens and States, in preserving unimpaired, in form and substance, a government, which, for half a century, has secured the maximum of liberty and the maximum of strength to us as a people, and under and by means of which, with unexampled vigor, we have advanced to the front rank of nations, furnishes a more useful as well as more grateful subject for our consideration than speculations as to the fate of the fragments of the dismembered Union.

Reflection strengthens the hope for the perpetuity of the Union, to which, in Revolutionary days, the common sufferings and common glories of all the States gave birth.

A natural and unchangeable condition in so widely extended a confederacy as ours, is the existence of diversities among its component parts. Our form of government is adapted to this natural and unchangeable condition. The reason, therefore, for preserving a government adapted to our natural and unchangeable condition is apparent, and the existence of diversities has the effect of allying interest with reason to the same end.

A government, which is so constituted, that while it is adapted to the natural and unchangeable condition of a people, at the same time addresses itself to their interest, must have stability for its characteristic.

Another basis of hope, for the perpetuity of the Union, is to be found in the growing strength of the principle of States' rights among the people of the United States.

When Mr. Calhoun, not content that the Constitution should be a mere theoretical paper, applied its principles to the practical questions of the day, his views encountered the general disapprobation, which exhibited itself in ridicule as well as denunciation. He was stigmatized as a wild and visionary *theorist*!

South Carolina soon adopted his views, and, as regards the doctrine of States' rights, became a unit. The other slaveholding States followed, and the entire South is now a unit, and (within the bosom of the Democratic party in every non-slaveholding State in the Union) the doctrine of State rights finds ardent and consistent supporters.

The doctrines of Calhoun leaven the whole mass. On every component part of the confederacy his name is graven. The impress of his thoughts upon the minds of the statesmen and thinkers of the country constitutes a monument, raised by his own noble intellect, directed by a pure patriotism, more grand and sublime than any his countrymen can rear to his memory.

The acknowledgment of the rights of the States is and must be the bond of peace and *union* among the States.

AMERICAN CONSUMPTION OF IRON.

The policy of introducing on the largest possible scale, into the public works, custom-houses, etc. of the United States, the use of iron, inaugurated under the last administration, is being pursued with commendable vigor by the present. Mr. Secretary Cobb has lately issued a circular to the iron interests of the country, asking for specific information upon certain points, and especially, upon the question of oxydization of irons.

"If the inquiries and experiments now being conducted by the Government, (we quote from the circular,) shall establish the important fact, that we have irons entirely or nearly proof against the corrosion of oxygen, it will multiply the uses of such iron to a very considerable extent for purposes to which it is now applied, and give it the preference over other irons for many purposes for which iron is now used.

"The very large extent to which this material is superseding the use of wood and stone in the public buildings erecting, at a cost of many millions of dollars annually, under this Department, renders it of the greatest importance to know that irons resist for the longest period the action of oxygen. It is hoped that the great interest the iron-masters have in the result of this experiment will be considered a sufficient apology for requesting samples of their iron and the ores from which they are made.

"I have, therefore, to request that you will forward to this Department, by mail or express, two or three small samples of iron and a sample of ore from each of the mines worked by you; the samples of iron not to exceed a quarter of a pound each, and the ore not to exceed a half pound in weight. I would also request information on the following points, viz: The extent of the ore deposite; facilities of mining ore; its distance from furnace, and distance of furnace from market, and mode of transportation thence; the fuel used; relative cost of charcoal, coke, crude, bituminous, and anthracite iron; kind of flux, and its cost, &c.; the capacity of the establishment and the amount of iron produced during the last year, and what it would be capable of producing under a ready sale and remunerating prices; any peculiarity of the iron produced; whether there are rolling mills in the vicinity, and what descriptions of iron they roll; to what purposes most of the products of your furnaces are applied, and what description of iron the establishment mostly produces; when did your works first go into operation; what has been the annual production, and what the ruling prices each year since your works were first started."

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER AND THE LEVEE SYSTEM.

We know that the difference of level between the Mississippi at the mouth of the Ohio, and the Gulf of Mexico at the Balize, is about 275 feet. Admitting that the Mississippi commenced forming land at or near the Ohio, we must see that it there first raised lands above the sea, so that the first section raised must have been at one time coincident with the surface of the Gulf. By annual inundations, it gradually elevated these first lands, whilst constantly pushing southward its inroads upon the bed of the sea. With every advance of new formation in the Gulf we can conceive a corresponding elevation of the soil previously formed. But there was another effect. Of course, if the Mississippi once met the sea at the chains, it must have precipitated itself from a height of 275 feet; filling the sea it finally destroyed this immense cataract, by prolonging its own course and reducing its plain of inclination. To pass from cataracts to an even and smooth flow, it must have gone through every stage of the velocity of waters—from fall waters to mere running waters. Can we not now conceive the Mississippi gradually forming its alluvion, and, by lengthening its course south and diminishing its plain, gradually lessening the velocity of its current? Such would appear to be the plausible theory; now a step farther. Taking the first sea-basin filled above tide-water, and the second basin coincident with it, naturally every rise of the river still continued to overflow the land of the first basin. So, when the third basin was filled, the first and second continued to be overflowed; and so on in succession with all the basins, all being yearly overflowed and elevated more and more. This has in it nothing surprising; because, as the river lengthened its course the water rose higher and higher at its different points—otherwise, the alluvial soil near Cairo would be no higher than at the Balize. Again, the rise and fall of the river increases gradually from the Gulf to the Ohio. At New Orleans it is some 15 feet, at Baton Rouge some 32 feet, at Helena about 45 feet, and so on; whereas at the Balize it is very small. In a natural condition, we should therefore understand the Mississippi to have overflowed annually all the lands of its own formation, from the Ohio to the Gulf, and annually to have elevated those lands to an increased height proportionate to the advancement of its mouth into the sea. But these overflows, what were they? Did the waters rise to the depth of several feet above the immediate banks of the stream? Not at all. They merely skimmed over these banks, and, as they thus escaped, laterally with a diminished velocity of current, deposited their sedimentary matter on

those banks or on their outer slopes. Thus the banks were raised higher and higher, and their slopes pushed farther and farther, so as finally to fill up all inner basins of flats.

Such, then, must be our conception of the manner in which the Mississippi formed its immense delta of lands. We are sustained in this theory, by what actually existed when the adventurous Lasalle first descended in the mighty river, and when the white race first settled its banks. True, many things go to cast doubt upon the theory, but there is nothing to invalidate it, and which cannot be well explained under it, when we consider that the many singularities of the topography of the Mississippi Valley can easily be accounted for by supposing very accidental causes. The mere falling of a tree in the bed of a stream, may form a bar, then an island, and, thus, may shift the entire channel.

The first settlers along the Mississippi found, therefore, rich lands, annually (or nearly so) overflowed by the river. They found, besides, on both banks of the stream, from Red River and Baton Rouge to the Gulf, numerous outlets, by which the waters were carried laterally to the sea. Everywhere, except in these outlets, the waters, barely to the depth of a few inches, passed over the banks of the river. Since then, nature has been at work, and man has been at work. Let us see if we can determine what nature has done.

There is no doubt that had man never interfered with the Mississippi, it would have continued to flow as explained above, forming new soil at its mouth, and elevating the surface of land previously made. There is no doubt, also, that many and extensive changes would have been brought about along its entire course. The topography of the country shows, conclusively, that the present bed of the river is not the one it has always occupied; that this bed has shifted time and time again. There is also one indisputable conclusion—that the river has changed its regimen from time to time. We are also struck with the fact that its current increases as we leave the Gulf, and that the channel becomes more and more tortuous as the current increases. As it is assumed a more tortuous condition, it naturally deepened its bends, and often these bends, breaking through the narrow necks which separated them, cut-offs were made, the old channel was filled at each extremity, and lakes, false rivers, etc., formed. To these natural changes add the elevation of the bed of the river, as explained before, and we have the extent of the workings of nature.

Now, what has man done? Paradoxical as it may appear, he has too much, and too little. He has had no foresight, and he has worked without having or entertaining a proper view

of the consequences of his works. Taking the Mississippi, and its alluvial lands, as we find them, as above explained, let us proceed. The first settlers on the banks of the river found that they were periodically subject to overflows. They found that by throwing up a small dike in front of their settlements they protected themselves from these overflows; because the waters, on account of the inclination of the land perpendicularly to the line of the river, were carried off on either side of their habitations. Adopting this as a proper system, they resorted to it everywhere. The French Engineer, De la Tour, traced out the city of New Orleans, under the order of Bienville, in 1717, and recommended a dike for its protection. In 1727, this levee is reported completed. Below New Orleans, and above, the leveeing system is continued, and, by 1770, we have a levee from the English Turn to more than fifty miles above. But it is not necessary to trace out the history of levees along the Mississippi. It is sufficient to remember that levees were gradually built along the banks of the Mississippi, cutting off the waters from their natural lateral flow over the lands, and, through innumerable outlets, up as high as Baton Rouge and Red River, with the exception of Bayou Lafourche, Bayou Plaquemine, and the Atchafalaya. Above Red River and Baton Rouge levees have been built, or are being built, so as to exclude the Mississippi waters from all the large districts of flat lands previously mentioned in this report, and which are to the number of eighteen. Not only individual enterprise, but the combined efforts of States, have been applied to this stupendous work. * * * *

Let us now consider how levees have effected the river, and interfered with its natural regimen. It is evident that with every foot of levee built up there was a proportionate volume of water confined to the bed of the river, and, consequently, an interference with its regimen. A still greater effect was produced by the closing of outlets. As we gradually confined these waters, we necessarily raised the surface of the river, and at every step in the construction of levees and dikes, we found the necessity of building them larger and higher. So that now, in places where there was sufficient protection afforded by levees of one or two feet in height, we require levees of six, seven, or eight feet. Another consequence of the confining of the waters is, that we thus have increased the current, and by causing the river to advance more rapidly in the Gulf than it naturally would have done, have elevated its bed in a like proportion. The Gulf has, however, resisted this artificial encroachment upon it, and to such a degree as to force the river to seek its regimen by slightly widening, in a few localities, its bed, and especially by increasing its length.

In fact, the Mississippi is now more tortuous than it ever was, and will continue to become more and more so. I have said that as we recede from the sea the stronger is the current; another fact is, that as we recede from the sea the more winding is the stream. Is it not, then, evident, that as we increase the current we lengthen the river? We are also forced to the conclusion, that nowhere has the Mississippi deepened its channel, although, by confining its waters, and by making, at times, cut-offs, we have increased the force of its current. The Po, in Italy, once ran between low, natural banks, as did the Mississippi. Small levees were built at first, and proved sufficient, and as the Po was controllable by man, it was confined to one almost invariable channel. Did this channel deepen? No; it has filled up; and now its bottom is as high as the soil which the waters at first merely covered. Had not the Mississippi been uncontrollable, and had it not sought to resume its natural regimen, by yearly breaking through our feeble barriers, and particularly by lengthening its course, our levees would even now have reached the height of fifteen feet in lower Louisiana. Our salvation has been, that we have not done all that we intended to do—that the Great River has rendered null some of our efforts to seek our own destruction. *Let us, therefore, hear no more of the scouring out, by the force of the current, of a deeper channel for the Mississippi.*

Without going any further into remarks or arguments, we conclude, then, that man has built up levees and closed outlets, to the extent of confining the Mississippi to its channel, (or will very soon,) throughout its course from the sea to the Big and Little Chain. Now it must be recollected, that the amount of lowlands thus rescued from overflow, is about 4,000 square miles. Of these lands, all above Red River and Baton Rouge, acted by districts, as immense reservoirs, in which the surplus waters collected at time of floods, to be there retained until the river began to subside. Below Baton Rouge and Red River, every drop of water that left the river left it altogether, and, flowing seaward, gave room for the escape of more. We can thus see how it is that the river, in its natural condition, could never overflow its banks to more than a few inches, and how it is that we see it now many feet above those same banks.

Another effect of man's labors must here be noticed. He has cleared the lands of their natural growth, and has brought them into cultivation. One effect of this has certainly been to increase the amount of evaporation of the water that falls upon these lands by rains and snows; but another counter-effect is, that every drop of the water has been facilitated in its course to the sea. Every farmer has his ditches, drains, &c., so that the water, which once remained on his lands in a vir-

gin state several days, is now rushed off in a couple of hours.

Again, for cultivation and drainage, and, in many important instances, for navigation, creek, bayous, rivers, have been cleared out, and now bring down their waters in much less time than they did naturally.

And we must remember, that in the matter of cultivation, and clearing out of streams, we must not look to the delta of the Mississippi only, but also to the thousand of its tributaries, and the thousand and thousand tributaries of the last. A drop of water artificially hurried into the Ohio, at Pittsburg, or one so hurried into the Missouri, at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, contributes to the overflow of our lands in Louisiana.

To sum up, then, we see that, by artificial means, we have interfered with the Mississippi:

1. By the building of levees, and the closing of outlets.
2. By the cultivation and drainage of lands, and by improvements of streams for drainage and navigation.
3. By making cut-offs between bends of the river.

And we see that all our labors are the direct causes of the evils under which we suffer. In our greediness to rob the Mississippi of its rich soils, we have taken no precaution to protect ourselves from its wrath; but on the contrary, have gone on to outrage it still more and more. We should have steadily kept in view that we were seeking the reclamation of lands, and, at the same time, increased their liability to overflow. We should have kept in mind that, as we confined the great river at one point, we should have given it artificially easier exit elsewhere. It is true that we have been allowed to confine it, to a certain extent, without danger. Until 1828, it never admonished us that we were going too far. Up to that time, we were comparatively left in security. Since that time, repeatedly have we been punished for forgetting a part of our duty. We conclude, then, that the more we build levees, and close reservoirs and outlets, the more we expose ourselves. We should have stopped somewhere in our reclamation of lands, or else have applied means to counteract the influence of our own works upon the rises of the river.

WHAT CAN BE DONE BY FARMING.

Every one has heard of the enormous results which have accrued to the regions around Norfolk, Virginia, by the opening of a direct farming market with the great cities of the North. The following figures were combined by the Norfolk Index from various sources, of the value of the peas, cucumbers, beans, potatoes, tomatoes, radishes, rhubarb, asparagus,

apples, peaches, pears, etc., for the month of June and July, 1857:

	Packages.	Value.
To New York.....	50,504	\$126,260 00
“ Philadelphia.....	4,329	10,822 50
“ Baltimore.....	40,216	100,540 00
“ Richmond.....	1,050	2,625 00
Total.....	96,099	\$240,147 50

The above packages are estimated at \$2 50 each, which is a very low figure; the largest proportion of the packages were barrels of cucumbers, potatoes, radishes, &c., which in the early part of the season commanded six to ten dollars each. This large amount of truck, it might be safe to say, was shipped in the space of forty days, and very serious inconvenience was felt by shippers for the lack of facilities to get off all that came to market. Although we have a daily line to Baltimore, and a semi-weekly line to Philadelphia and New York, each provided with steamships of large capacity, more were required, and nothing short of a daily line to New York will ever be sufficient to meet the demands of the trade.

The above statement shows a very large amount shipped to Baltimore, and it may be proper to remark that much of it went through to Philadelphia via the former city.

From the 28th of July to 5th of August, thirty-three thousand watermelons were shipped hence to a Northern port.

OUR EXTRAORDINARY COMMERCIAL GROWTH.

The amount of the Foreign Commerce, for the year ending 30th June last, has just been aggregated at the Treasury. We combine the figures with those of several preceding years.

FOREIGN IMPORTS.

	Dutiable.	Free Goods.	Specie & Bullion.	Total.
1846..	\$96,924,058	\$20,990,037	\$3,777,732	\$121,691,796
1856..	257,684,236	52,748,074	4,207,632	314,639,942
1857..	294,160,835	54,267,507	12,461,799	360,890,141

FOREIGN EXPORTS.

	Dom's Produce.	For'n Produce.	Specie & Bullion.	Total.
1846..	\$101,718,042	\$7,865,206	\$3,905,268	\$113,488,516
1856..	266,438,051	14,784,372	44,745,485	326,964,908
1857..	278,906,713	23,964,079*	60,078,352	362,946,144

* The foreign produce exported consisted of specie, \$9,058,570; free goods, \$4,313,862; dutiable, \$10,591,647.

SOUTHERN STEAM MARINE.

MR. BARNY'S LETTER TO THE SOUTHERN CONVENTION.

In introducing this important subject, to the notice of the Convention, I can find no stronger language in its favor, than that of Senator Rusk, delivered in the United States Senate on the 3d of May, 1852:

"Sir, as I said before, you cannot stop the course of events. Steam is revolutionizing the world; it is bringing men of different nations face to face, it is bringing distant nations close together, and it draws after it in its train, consequences which the most daring statesmen cannot now foretell, or foresee. You must control it, or it will control you. In the hands of others it will control you. Controlled, as it is in our power to control it, it will become the element of infinite prosperity to us, but, in the hands of rival nations, it must become the source of national degradation and loss to us.

"Steam is your own invention, and England is using it. I think the Senator from Virginia said he was in favor of free trade and an 'open ocean.' Sir, I could not regard the ocean as very open when a thousand British war steam vessels were hovering upon our coasts, while we have but forty to meet them.

"This is a sort of openness of the ocean, from which may God deliver me. It would indeed be open to England, and our ports would be open to her too. This, however, is a kind of 'open ocean' and free trade, against which I solemnly protest."

England has now ninety-one lines of ocean mail steamers, consisting of over four hundred steamships, running between England and foreign countries, connecting with twenty-five lines, consisting of one hundred and five British steamers, plying between foreign ports.

France is also alive to the importance of a steam marine, and that government has, within the last three months, made contracts for three important ocean steamer lines; one from Havre to New York: one from St. Nicairne to the West India Islands; one from Marseilles to Rio Janeiro; each line to make semi-monthly trips; the total annual compensation to the three lines is fourteen millions of francs, and the contract is to continue for ten years. I append a table of the French navy, from which, it appears that France has two hundred and twenty steam vessels of war; and the United States has but nineteen.

Spain is not neglectful of this important, aye, necessary commercial and naval power. She has now thirty-two war steam-

ers, and is constructing two of the largest class; that government has made a contract for the transportation of the Spanish mails once a month, between Cadiz and Havana for ten years, at the compensation of twenty-three thousand dollars per trip.

Here then is England with her five hundred and five mail steamers, which, with her five hundred steamers belonging to the navy, make one thousand and five steamers ready for war purposes, in addition to the mercantile steam fleet, of nine hundred and seventy-five steamers, making a grand total of one thousand nine hundred and eighty.

France has two hundred and twenty steam vessels of war. Austria has one hundred and ten, Russia one hundred and five, and the *United States has only nineteen war steamers*, twelve of which carry from one to fifteen guns, some of which are not fit to be sent out of the harbor. And the ocean mail service of the United States is now performed by twenty-four steamers. The following is the language of President Buchanan, in his address to the citizens of Baltimore in May, 1856:

"Our foreign relations demand their serious attention. Our mercantile marine is now the largest in the world, and our merchant vessels cover every sea; but where is the navy to protect them.

"To be sure what we have is composed of the best and bravest materials; but we have too little of it, although we do not require anything like so large a navy as that of Great Britain or France. The first commercial people in the world, we are but a third or fourth rate power. Never have I been so convinced as during my residence abroad, of the wisdom of the maxim of the Father of his Country, that the best mode of preserving peace is to be prepared for war."

I would call the attention of the Convention to the value of the exports from New Orleans to foreign countries for the year ending 30th of June, 1857, which was \$91,517,286, whereas the importations do not exceed eighteen millions, I would ask how does New Orleans get back the seventy-three millions of dollars of excess of exports over her imports? Of course the consumers of her exports pay for them by importations to the North.

I do not hesitate to say, that a frequent and regular steam communication between New Orleans and Europe, will be of greater advantage to the prosperity of the whole United States, than any other means which man could devise. I select for my line New Orleans as the point of departure from the United States, because New Orleans is the natural outlet of the immense products of the fertile Valley of the Mississippi; and I

select Bordeaux as the terminus in Europe because it is the nearest European port of consequence, and because the trade of New Orleans is now principally with France and Spain. On this route the steamers will touch at Havana, also at Santander, on the coast of Spain, thus opening facilities for an increase of our commerce with this latter country, which, during the year 1856 amounted to fifty million of dollars, at the same time our commerce with France was ninety-one million of dollars.

The channel through which trade flows cannot be regulated by resolves of man, but where the material of commerce exists, trade is vastly benefitted by affording facilities for transportation.

In conclusion, I will say, that I do not solicit any pecuniary aid, but of course the enterprise will not be closed to capitalists either from the South or the North. What I desire is, that the great advantages of this proposed line to the Southern and Western States should be understood by the Representatives in Congress from those sections of the country, and that they will be prepared to grant to this line such an annual pay for mail services as its importance demands.

I do not think any arguments are necessary to show the line to be, not only a great commercial feature for the South, but a paying enterprise. New Orleans has about one-fifth more exports than New York, and there is no doubt of having full freights to Spain and Bordeaux, and as certainly would the European manufactures, destined for Southern and Western consumption take this route, for the simple reason that the expenses of transportation would be about thirty per cent. less than via New York. I hope the Convention will look at the superior merits of this route, which no one can doubt, is superior to those of any other projected, or that can be projected, for the trade is at the termini and other way stations; whereas on any other ocean route, from Southern ports, the trade is to be made.

I have expressly stated that I do not ask any pecuniary aid, having made my financial arrangements, but I do not think it would be proper to refuse subscriptions, especially from Southern capitalists; and in this view, I enclose a prospectus of my company, showing estimated expenses and receipts; and any gentleman who may desire to take an interest in this enterprise, can sign his name for such number of shares in the company as he may desire to take. As yet, I am alone in the enterprise.

P. S.—In my prospectus, you will see, that I have put down the receipts at \$53,500, which is, in my opinion, about \$10,000 less than they would be per voyage. I have put

down the expenses at a high figure, but even say \$50,000 for the voyage, there would be \$3,000 for dividends, or \$36,000 a year, exclusive of any mail pay.

Prospectus of the proposed New Orleans, Havana, Santander, and Bordeaux United States mail steamship company.

Capital.....	\$500,000
1,000 shares, at \$500 a share.	
Material of the Company—	
2 Steamships to cost.....	\$450,000
Working capital.....	50,000
	<hr/>
	\$500,000

It is intended to make a round trip each month, until the business in a post office contract would call for semi-monthly trips.

From New Orleans—	<i>Estimated receipts.</i>	
50 1st class passengers to Bordeaux, at \$150.....		\$7,500 00
10 2d class passengers to " at 70.....		700 00
20 1st class passengers to Havana, at 30.....		600 00
30 1st class passengers Havana to Spain at 150.....		4,500 00
10 2d class passengers " at 70.....		700 00
600 tons freight to Spain and Bordeaux at 15.....		9,000 00
		<hr/>
		\$23,000 00

From Bordeaux—		
50 1st class passengers from Bordeaux, at \$160..	\$8,000 00	
30 2d class passengers from " at 70..	2,100 00	
30 1st class passengers to Havana, at 160..	4,800 00	
20 1st class passengers to N. O. from Havana, at 30..	600 00	
600 tons at \$25.....	15,000 00	
		<hr/>
		\$30,500 00

Eastern passage receipts.....	\$23,000 00
Western passage receipts.....	30,500 00
	<hr/>

Total receipt for one voyage..... \$53,500 00

Estimated expenses for one voyage.

Per day, running out and home, 40 days, at \$1,000.....	\$40,000 00
Commissions, etc., 2½ per cent. per annum, 53,000.....	1,315 00
Office expense and advertisements.....	500 00
Extra expense, incidental.....	1,000 00
Wear of machinery, and repairs.....	1,500 00
Light dues, etc., in foreign ports.....	1,000 00
	<hr/>

\$45,315 00

Profit per voyage..... \$8,185 00

United states mail contract pay per trip. \$12,500 00

Spanish government mail contract per trip, for mail between Havana and Spain..... 5,000 00

\$25,635 00

Interest on 500,000 capital (20 per cent.) per month. \$8,333 00

Insurance per month..... 3,000 00

11,333 00

Thus leaving for extra dividends per trip..... \$14,302 00

AGRICULTURAL BRANCH OF THE PATENT OFFICE AGAIN.

Our readers will acquit us of any very great partiality for the Agricultural branch of the Patent Office, as now organized, if they will refer to the note, which we added by way of preface, to an article furnished in our July number, by Mr. Magnus Gross, a chemist of some standing, and one of our adopted citizens.

Since the appearance of that article an active demonstration has been made upon the South, through all the newspaper scribes resident at Washington, extolling the benign and almost indispensable services of the "Bureau," and the ability and skill of its management. A circular has also appeared, stating that one Dr. Jackson, of Boston, has been appointed to take especial charge of our cotton-plant, soil, sugar, corn, etc., analyses and enlighten us in due time in regard to their characteristics. Grateful indeed will the South be for this boon. Where then are Avequin and Riddell, of Louisiana; Gibbs and Ravenel, of Carolina; Laurence Smith, of Kentucky, and others of our able agricultural chemists that they are not expressing their gratitude for the new light which Boston is to shed upon their benighted labors? Our purpose in this note, however, is not to complain, but merely to introduce another paper from Mr. Gross, which will speak for itself, and may be of service to the agricultural world. Certainly the country has the right to expect some great and decided modifications in the affairs of the office, if they are to be conducted upon the same extended scale. With a new head to the Interior Department, a worthy successor of a most worthy man, a new Commissioner of Patents, (for the first time from the South,) the season seems to be propitious.

J. D. B. DE BOW, Esq.:

Having read the instructions which the Commissioner of Patents (Mr. Mason) has lately given to Dr. C. T. Jackson, of Boston, regarding the analysis of various soils and plants, I consider it incumbent upon the "Review" to have spread before it a few remarks for the information of its readers.

In the first place, it must be hinted, that the quantitative relations of the ascertained "silica, alumina, lime, magnesia, potash, soda, peroxide of iron, and manganese, ammonia, creusic acid, apocremic acid, humic acid, extract of humus, sulphuric acid, phosphoric acid, nitric acid, chlorine, carbonic acid, carbonaceous matter, and oxalic acid," noted in the circular, would, in itself, give little satisfaction, if we are not, at the same time, informed—

1st. Whether the potash, soda, magnesia, and lime, are respectively present as carbonates, sulphates, phosphates, silicates or chlorides, and *vice versa*, as regards the other cases extant.

2d. Whether the silica, besides its being present as siliceous sand, is in combination with potash, soda, lime, magnesia, or humus; and,

3d. Whether some of these combinations are present as salts, soluble in water, or all insoluble; because on this feature of a soil's constituents very much depends the necessity of the presence of ammonia in a greater than the natural

or genuine proportion; in other words, the necessity of an application of ammoniacal manures like guano, urine, etc.

It is true, that the demand embraced in the foregoing three points, makes the analysis a more subtle, tedious, and difficult task; and it is likewise true that analytical chemists are sometimes accustomed to determining and grouping the various combinations of bases with acids, &c., by means of calculation, approximately. But the very fact, that we apply bodies to soils, as for instance, marl, gypsum, ammoniacal salts, with a view of not so much acting directly as fertilizers as of bringing about a transformation in the originally present, yet less easily assimilable constituents of a given soil, is enough to show the importance of a most scrutinizing research in all such cases where the means to be applied to that end permit of it. Private individuals cannot be expected to bear the costs of such expensive investigations, but if once undertaken by the Government they should be complete and satisfactory ones.

It is therefore to be hoped that Dr. Jackson will not look upon his trust as to a mere job, but will view it as one of the most fortunate opportunities ever offered in this country to a chemist alike to distinguish himself and to benefit his fellow-citizens. In this last regard it is most desirable and necessary, therefore, that Dr. Jackson, in his series of investigations, should endeavor to avoid falling into errors which he has previously committed, and especially such as are contained in his analysis in the Agricultural Report for the year 1855. If Dr. Jackson's new analytical inquiries should form a continuation or succession only of his corn-cob investigations, we shall indeed be sadly disappointed. If it is, however, meant in right good earnest to pursue the subject and carry out the results, no matter what they may tell, a great and lasting effect will be conferred on some branches of our national agriculture.

Such being, in a few words, our high ideas of what the Agricultural Bureau ought to be now, or to become in future, we can but look with regret upon the petty favoritism, narrow-minded irritability, unjustifiable partiality, and unworthy puffery which seems to have become habitual in its management. It is in vain for the competent student and enthusiastic lover of agriculture to approach that "Bureau" with sound and practical views and propositions. He would not be listened to.

More than a year ago it was proposed by a chemist of Washington to carry out the investigations with which Dr. Jackson is at present charged. That chemist waited in vain for the commission, which now appears to have been awarded to Dr. Jackson, perhaps for the very reason that his former errors were privately pointed out to the Bureau by the chemist aforesaid.

By a glance at pages 163 to 167 of the Patent Reports for 1855, it will be seen that Dr. Jackson analyzed the ashes from the cobs of six varieties of corn. He employed one single cob of each variety, and the per centage of ashes, said to be obtained after the burning of the cobs, varied as follows: $\frac{1}{4}$ of one per cent, $1\frac{1}{2}$ do., $1\frac{1}{2}$ do., and 2 per cent. The disproportion in the per centage of ashes thus obtained is so great that the investigator ought to have instituted a test to prove the correctness of the result of the experiment.

As stated above, Dr. Jackson used but one single cob from each variety of corn, and their respective weight was found to present the following figures: 1,000, 480, 290, 560, 630, and 830 grains. Of these cobs the Doctor gives such a description of their physical appearance as to convey the idea, that he supposed each specimen of a cob he chose, a full-grown, normal, and healthy one. How can he account for such a conception? Why did he not take, in order to ascertain the per centage of ashes beyond a doubt, an equal weight of a number of cobs from each variety of corn, burn them together, and employ so much from the ashes obtained as was necessary for reliable quantitative determinations? As it was, he worked to that end in one case 12.2, in another 9.5, again 7.6, then 4.2, and even such a quantity as "nearly 4" grains, and he expects us to believe in such results. Whenever the analytical chemist can have it, he does not, for quantitative determinations, take less than *one gramme*, or 15.4 grains of substance; to operate, however, with 4.2, and even with "nearly 4" grains, as in Dr. Jackson's case, almost unavoidably jeopardizes a reliable result, for the most skilled hand cannot prevent the usual losses and differences in the course of analytical operations with inorganic bodies being felt.

What do we know, after all, of the nature of corn-cobs, as far as regards their growth, weight, density, and completeness, to select them in particular as a standard or basis in ascertaining the universal constituents of the corn-plant, instead of choosing, at this period of analytical data at least, the whole plant, i. e. the stalks, leaves, and cobs? A superficial observer must have noticed, that of all the different parts or parcels of that plant, the cobs show the greatest variations as to their development; and from Dr. Jackson's own results we are able to prove the correctness of this, our assertion. He obtained, for instance, from a cob weighing 1,000 grains, only 9.5 grains, or about seven-eighths of one per cent. of ashes, while another cob of but 630 grains yielded him 12.2 grains, or nearly two per cent. of ashes. Supposing the weight of both these cobs having been equal, say 1,000 grains each—the one would have given 9.5 grains of ashes as above, the other, however, 19.36 grains. Notwithstanding such an insecure and indistinct inquiry, Dr. Jackson ventures to account for the great difference by maintaining "that the considerable variation in the relative proportions of the inorganic constituents, is owing probably to the chemical natures of different soils." Of what value whatsoever can be the analytical results of Dr. Jackson, if the nature or composition of the soils upon which his cobs have grown is unknown? Did the Doctor imagine, granting that all was right, to tell us something new about the mineral constituents of the ashes of corn-cobs, (stalks or leaves?) Such a conception of the services to be tendered to the practical cultivator, by means of chemical analysis, would render them perfectly useless and superfluous—"is owing probably to the chemical natures of the different soils"—whether that is, or is not, is the very question to be decided in every such case. But let us ascertain now how it stands with his results of the analysis proper.

We find varying the quantity of potash, expressed in per cent., from 0.2581 to 0.6430; of salica, from 0.0714 to 0.1720; of phosphate of lime and magnesia, from 0.0540 to 0.1260; of phosphoric acid, (other than combined with the lately named bases, lime and magnesia,) from 0.0230 to 0.0910; of soda, from 0.0492 to 0.2200. In one analysis the relation between potash and soda is as 3.204 to 0.492; in another they are nearly equal, viz: potash 2.581, and soda 2.104. In the analysis which contains most soda, viz: 0.2200 per cent., the smallest proportion of chlorine is found, viz: 0.0110 per cent. Again we find the relative proportions between soda and chlorine in one place like 1.60 to 0.30, in another like 1.00 to 0.05. If we should continue these comparisons through the list of the constituents found, and then reduce the various figures to *chemical equivalents*, (the proportions in which bodies combine with each other,) we would establish the fact that, on the whole, no *natural* combination can be made out of what Dr. Jackson maintains to have found, and that, therefore, the pretended constitution of the ashes of his corn-cobs is one of his own making.

In the analysis, too, which has been undertaken with "nearly 4" grains of ashes, the investigator obtains 1.7480 per cent. of inorganic ingredients in a cob of 290 grains weight. From this minute quantity of ascertained inorganic constituents, we are required to swallow nearly one-half, i. e. 0.8114 per cent. as "unburned carbon, carbonic acid and loss."

Will the analyst insist upon calling this an analysis? In the first place, he takes the license to analyze the unheard of quantity of "nearly 4" grains, and after having gone through with his experiment, he wants us to admit of unburned carbon and loss to the amount of nearly two grains. Does he really believe that he has performed a chemical analysis? Well, then, let him prove it. Let him reconcile with established chemical laws and analytical rules all of his incongruous figures. Dr. Jackson, (we say so in the utmost good humor,) may either do better in future, or console himself with the celebrated French chemist, Dumas, in whose analytical labors Professor Liebig never believed until their correctness had been established by the best analyses from other chemists, though he implicitly trusted in the results of Professor Deise, of Copenhagen, for instance, who not only was a wonderfully patient and highly skilled experimenter, but was in the habit of using unusually large quantities—say too grammes and over, thus to avoid all differences or losses influencing his results.

THE LOW LANDS OF VIRGINIA.

NO. II, (CONCLUDED.)

A CHEAP AND READY WAY TO FIND OUT THEIR EXTENT—BY A FARMER
OF PIEDMONT.

In general, it may be said that our alluvial lands are our best lands: originally most fertile, less exhausted by ignorant and improvident cultivation, and more easily restored under judicious treatment. Our uplands, for the most part, may be greatly improved or injured by good or bad management, but of the others it might in a sense be justly said, that "man did not make and cannot destroy;" and this is true in a degree of the margins of the lesser streams as well as the greater. The injury received under the former system was often but superficial, and a deeper culture—which they would better bear—has frequently brought to light a fresh soil never before stirred. For their level shape forbade their being washed into gullies, as were too many of the uplands, and manures, when applied, were longer retained or yielded a better return. If, in some cases, they have been damaged by freshets, in others they have been benefitted by their depositions. Added to which, they had, besides their own intrinsic virtues, received the strength of the adjacent hills for untold ages before they were cleared.

Of those above tide, it may be affirmed that they are almost universally adapted to artificial grasses for the maintenance of their fertility; and if some of those below are less so, from an undue proportion of sand in their constitution, these are not unsuited to other valuable staples, and their texture may often be modified by deeper tillage or manures, whether mineral or putrescent. Low-grounds are cultivated with less danger to tools and implements when these are properly chosen, and afford greater facilities for gathering their crops into repositories. The operations on such lands are more easily inspected, and the results more readily and accurately calculated. As they admit of a deeper culture, so also do they better resist drought and the ravages of insects in unfavorable seasons. Whether as corn-field or meadow, they have furnished sustenance to man and beast—proving even in disastrous years a reliable source of income to their owners, and of food to others; and it henceforth will rest with their owners to say whether that source shall be perennial. Being, moreover, a monopoly of no particular county or district, but ramified throughout the entire State, the fear of general suffering from the want or high price of bread may be forever dismissed.

While they are more susceptible of renovation, they also allow a more frequent growth of the same crop, and thus les-

sen the draught of the uplands of the same estate. Such of them as lie on navigable rivers are of course nearer to the ultimate markets, and often contain in the neighboring hills the means of their improvement; or if these be wanting they may be more easily brought from a distance. Many of those on streams of a lesser grade are susceptible of *irrigation*, by taking water from their channels at higher points. Where there has been a surplus of water, much valuable soil has been reclaimed and rendered salubrious by draining ponds or marshes, and yet more by the substitution of lateral canals for useless mill-ponds. The channels of not a few of the minor streams have likewise been straightened, whereby the danger of overflow has been lessened, and the cultivation of their margins facilitated.

As low grounds yield a better return for the labor bestowed on them, and lighten the burden that would otherwise fall on the adjoining high-land, they give a character to the latter which they would not otherwise possess. For such localities from the first invite settlements, are ever afterwards in demand from the more intelligent and liberal class of cultivators, and can afford more costly and permanent improvements, whether in the character of the buildings, or enclosures, or ornamental grounds. Where several such lie together, or others like them at a convenient distance, they make a desirable neighborhood, and many such will generally indicate a prosperous and intelligent community. For such neighborhoods are sought by public highways and other works of internal improvement, by the common arts tributary to our daily recurring wants, by trade and commerce, and in the aggregate they furnish the surest basis for the higher education.

If the early proprietors of some of these estates set an example of improvident culture and wasteful expenditure, which was the more injurious to their neighbors less favorably situated, as these were less able to afford it, their successors in the same class have in a measure repaired the mischief by establishing a different precedent. For it is well known that many of our most important improvements have been initiated on such lands, and they still present the fairest examples of neat, scientific, and profitable management to be found among us.

Who, then, will not desire to know the extent of this the most valuable portion of our territory? We have a wide—an ample domain, and much of it, we believe, partakes of this character; far more perhaps than any one as yet can positively aver. We also know that these are *not the whole of our good lands*. Particular belts or isolated spots of greater or less area, in many counties below the ridge, were early noted as of superior excellence, and have ever since maintained their repu-

tation. Such favored localities are found in the counties of Louisa, Goochland, Powhatan, Amelia, Mecklenburg, Halifax, Buckingham, Amherst, Nelson, Albemarle, Loudon, and others, and a yet larger proportion of the valley, which, originally rich, has been farther improved under the hand of culture. Nor should we forget, because they are dispersed, the multitude of orchards, gardens, yards, lawns, standing pastures, small lots for raising roots and other auxiliary crops, chiefly for home consumption, larger lots for tobacco, where that culture still obtains, small farms near cities for supplying their markets with fruits and vegetables, and where the entire surface has been manured by well directed efforts; nor the numerous fields of larger dimensions which, within a generation, and since wheat has become a more important staple, have been improved by the use of marl, lime, green-sand, gypsum, clover, and other grasses, or the more equable spread of the manures of the farm. When such estates are made up in part of low-grounds, much of this improvement should, in fairness, be credited to the latter, as these, by their products, have furnished the capital, and by the offal of their crops, the manures that have been thus expended. So true is this, that instances are not rare in which upland fields had been exhausted and abandoned to the care of the fern and the sedge, and a lot of alluvial land has served both as fulcrum and lever for raising them to more than their pristine fertility. But all these for the present must be left out of view.

If any among us should have heretofore undervalued the capacities of our State, this bare statement, limited and modest though it be, should lead to a reconsideration; and yet we know that very diverse representations have been given as to its condition, whether natural or superinduced, both by friend and foe; by some of our citizens as well as by travellers from a distance. Our Northern brethren habitually reproach us with the general poverty of our soil, and have persuaded themselves that it is the inevitable consequence of the labor we employ. This last opinion which once had some currency among ourselves seems now pretty generally exploded. The inferences of both parties were hasty, yet were their mistakes not wholly unjustified by appearances.

Before the era of railroads the body of our people had been little noted for travelling, and when they did, their observations were confined to a few particular estates besides those of their own neighborhood. This is still too much the case. Our public roads for the most part are located on the ridges, lead through forests or farms of minor interest, or barely touch on those of a superior character. As much may be said of the railroads which cut *across the country*, traversing it from North

to South, and of those which tend westward from the Metropolis. The only two which avowedly seek the more fertile districts for the transport of their products, may be within convenient reach of the good lands throughout their lines, sometimes touch or cross them where this is inevitable, but at best afford the passing traveller a rapid glance at only a few favorite spots. He naturally infers from what he does see, the condition and proportions of that which is hidden from his view. There may be a lurking suspicion that this is not just; for he has heard, perhaps, the aggregate yield of Virginia lands is certainly not small, nor her exports of little value; but he is at a loss to divine where these come from. It might be thought that those who ascend our navigable streams could hardly be liable to such mistakes; but neither is the deck of a steamboat the most eligible situation for inspecting the adjacent levels, presenting as they do, but little more than their edges to the viewer. The James river canal is perhaps the only public highway within our limits that permits the traveller to form anything like an adequate estimate of the valley through which it winds; yet who shall say that other of our streams do not present continuous scenes as worthy of observation?

And how shall we correct the erroneous impressions of strangers, or the unjust depreciation of our domestic croakers, or the ranting eulogies of declaimers, or the random guesses of indifferent speculators, or the vague conjectures of the well meaning, or satisfy the enquiries of the considerate patriot, or strip the whole subject of the mystery in which it is at present involved, unless we adopt some comprehensive measure for obtaining the desired information? That we have a country, a good land, a land worth living in and taking care of, we have never doubted. But if this can be reduced to a certainty, and if it shall turn out to be better than we had supposed, may not some who now meditate flight, whether from country or city, be induced to forego their purpose, and will not those who remain, be the more content in adhering to her fortunes? Nay, may it not be the means of inviting immigrants and capital from abroad? And can it fail to have an indirect influence for the better on our PUBLIC CREDIT, when we shall have shown the solid foundation on which our agricultural prosperity rests?

We propose no inquisitorial search that shall minister to the pride of some and expose the nakedness or short comings of others. That, alas! has already been done by a higher authority. We only desire to have a juster idea of the bounty of Providence in this regard. The lands in questions are readily distinguishable from others, those on any single stream

are fixed and invariable in amount, and as a whole they can be neither increased or diminished. Any portion of the task when once accomplished need never be repeated, and when completed entire it is done forever.

This constant quantity may be unequally distributed among proprietors by the policy of our laws and the spirit of our Government, but the general aggregate remains, a prize to be contented for by the most worthy. And let not those despond who are excluded by circumstances from participating in this portion of our general inheritance. For, did they but know it, SCIENCE has at length diminished the distance between them and their neighbors, whom they have habitually regarded as so much more fortunate than themselves, and that without detracting from the advantages of the latter. Let them rather seek this knowledge, inquire whether there is nothing in the practices of those neighbors which they may safely imitate as being suited also to their operations, and endeavor to make up what is lacking by diligence and thrift. Then would they find the returns sufficient for the supply of all their real wants, and many of the comforts—nay, the luxuries of life.

We have indulged in no vague, suspicious declamation, but have endeavored to view this matter in the light of common sense. If our readers approve the proposal, let them—not order, but sanction it with their public opinion, and it may be done, and done gratuitously. Five years ago this might have been pronounced impossible without governmental aid. But the farmers of Virginia are now happily associated, nay, *organized*, as they never were before, and this were no longer a Herculean enterprise. Its accomplishment will be but one of the first fruits of their exertion.

The Agricultural Society of Virginia has members and zealous ones, in perhaps every county east of the Ridge, and in all or most of those in the Valley, besides others who are scattered throughout the Transmontane. Let the Executive Committee of that Society give this matter their consideration, and order their Secretary to prepare a circular letter explanatory of the object and method of procedure. Let copies of this be sent to some one in each county who would proably take an interest in its accomplishment. Such an one could surely enlist others in each neighborhood or Magisterial District. These while in attendance at Court, or in other places of Assembly, might obtain from the citizens generally the information desired. Clerks, Surveyors, Assessors would lend their aid. Patriotic Physicians, who as men of science must be the friends of an improved Agriculture, who go every where and visit every house, would not withhold their assistance. Most proprietors who have any notable quantity of such land, have gen-

erally ascertained the amount, and would hardly refuse a statement when sought for such a purpose. These separate items of information when gathered, could easily be embodied in a report for the county and forwarded to the Secretary, who would consolidate all such returns in a single report for the State. The aggregates under the three first and the fifth heads might probably be relied on as sufficiently accurate. Many of those under the fourth—which however are the least important, may as yet be conjectural and we must be content for a time with an approximative estimate, subject to correction when actual survey shall have made them more exact. It may be that all the counties will not at once respond to the call; but many would, and their separate returns will not only be so much gained towards the general object, but will furnish materials for a document well worthy the attention of our Farmers' Assembly. Should such a movement be commenced the writer is assured by friends that he may engage for his own county, and he believes that in more than twenty others it would be zealously and promptly executed. With such a measure of success he cannot doubt that the rest would in time wheel into line.

We know not that any measure similar to that now proposed has been executed, or so much as contemplated, elsewhere in our country, but a knowledge of this branch of statistics would be desirable any where. If other States have also been delinquent, should we therefore fail to take the initiative, or postpone it longer? Let us rather take precedence in this, if we have been tardy in other respects, and if the result be as we anticipate, they would not fail to follow so worthy an example.

THE NATIONAL EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

We took occasion some months since to denounce, as it deserved, the silly and impertinent appeal to the South, made by the "Living Age," endorsing the insane declamations of one of its noisy agitators, whose capacities to serve the world, it has long been evident, are far greater with the anvil and sledge-hammer, than with either pen or tongue. Well as we understood the visionary character of the abolitionists and reformers at the North, it never occurred to us that anything quite so preposterous as this would have been seriously pressed by any portion of their ranks. It seems, however, that in a large convention, they have adopted Mr. Burritt's scheme, and seriously propose it, in generous and brotherly spirit, to the people of the South. In kindly reciprocity, what shall the good people of the South propose in turn? Brother yankees, as you are so modest in your proposals, we shall strive to imitate

you. Will you be kind enough to make us a present of a thousand or fifteen hundred millions of dollars for the "honor of mankind" and the "good of souls," and you have our word that good use will be made of it. This is the value of the property which, on your calculation, we shall lose by emancipation. What if the amount is double that of the entire personal property of the "free States"—*the value of your lands will be increased by it in a much larger proportion?*

Slaves at the South, 3,600,000; at \$600.....	\$2,160,000,000
Indemnity proposed, \$250 to each slave, to be raised by taxation, on which the South will pay at least half, leaves.....	450,000,000

South's loss.....	\$1,710,000,000
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But these arguments are ridiculous. Let us rather present a few of the sage resolves of the emancipation conventionists:

1. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Convention it is highly desirable that the people of the North should co-operate, in a generous and brotherly spirit, with the people of the South, and share liberally with them in the expense of putting an end to so great a moral and political an evil as American slavery.

2. *Resolved*, That the American people should make their common Government their agent in this matter, and should call on Congress to pay to each State that shall abolish slavery a sum not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars for each and every slave emancipated, each State providing for any additional remuneration that it may deem proper.

3. *Resolved*, That the American people, when helping the emancipators, should help the emancipated also. No measures of aid in this direction could exceed our wishes. Nevertheless, the small sum of twenty-five dollars to each of these wronged and destitute ones would go far towards supplying them with humble homes upon this continent, or upon another, should they prefer so wide a removal from the land of their birth.

* * * * *

8. *Resolved*, That notwithstanding the press of the South condemns, as unauthorized and impertinent, our taking this subject in hand, we, nevertheless, justify ourselves on the ground, 1st, that what vitally concerns one part, vitally concerns every other part of the human brotherhood; and, 2d, that the North has as much right to save from, as the South has to hurry to destruction the ship of State, which carries both the North and the South—the dearest interests of the one as well as the dearest interests of the other.

9. *Resolved*, That the declaration that our undertaking involves the recognition of the right of property in man, is as groundless as it is astounding; and that this undertaking, so far from blinding those that embark in it from inculcating, as all should do, the unconditional duty of the slaveholder to set the slave immediately free, does but impart to them a special fitness for such inculcation, and a special power to make it effectual.

CLOSING NOTES ON TEXAS AND TEXANS.

In two preceding articles, we presented very fully the physical, historical, and political features of Texas, reserving many notes in regard to its public men, to be the subject of a third and closing paper. Absence from our post and domestic afflictions, have prevented the consummation of this purpose, except in part, with which at present it will be necessary to rest, relying that, upon some future occasion, it will be practicable to resume and complete the subject.

The treaty of annexation was rejected in the Senate by a vote of 35 to 16.

In the House, joint resolutions of annexation were moved by Mr. Ingersoll on the 12th of December, 1844, and other resolutions were also introduced by Douglas, Weller, Burke, Brown, Robinson, King, &c. Most of these were silent upon slavery. In Douglas', the Missouri Compromise was explicitly recognized as of binding force. In Burke's, of New Hampshire, and Milton Brown's, of Tennessee, was inserted a clause admitting the territory south of 36° 30' to come in with or without slavery, "as the people of each State asking permission may desire."

On the 28th January, 1845, Mr. Milton Brown moved his resolutions, to which an amendment by Mr. Douglas was accepted, as follows: "In such States as shall be formed out of said territory, north of said Missouri Compromise line, slavery, &c., except for crime, shall be prohibited." The resolutions were then adopted by a vote of 120 to 98. In the Senate, on the 27th of February, the resolutions from the House came up, and were amended by Mr. Walker, of Mississippi, (by inserting the third resolution,) and passed by a vote of 27 to 25. The House concurred the next day by a vote of 135 to 76.

Texas having assented to and accepted the proposals, guarantees, &c., of the resolutions providing for annexation, a bill was reported on the 16th December, 1845, by Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, for her admission into the Union, which passed by 141 to 57 in the House, and 31 to 14 in the Senate. On the 26th March, 1846, Gen. Rusk took his seat in the Senate, and four days afterwards, Gen. Houston. In June, Kaufman and Pillsbury took their seats in the House of Representatives. The following are the resolutions of annexation:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Congress doth consent that the territory properly included within and rightfully belonging to the Republic of Texas, may be erected into a new State, to be called the State of Texas, with a republican form of government, to be adopted by the people of said Republic, by deputies in convention assembled, with the consent of the existing govern-

ment, in order that the same may be admitted as one of the States of this Union.

2. *And be it further resolved*, That the forgoing consent of Congress is given upon the following conditions, and with the following guaranties, to wit: *First*, Said State to be formed, subject to the adjustment by this Government of all questions of boundary that may arise with other governments; and the constitution thereof, with the proper evidence of its adoption by the people of said Republic of Texas, shall be transmitted to the President of the United States, to be laid before Congress for its final action, on or before the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and forty-six. *Second*, Said State, when admitted into the Union, after ceding to the United States all public edifices, fortifications, barracks, ports and harbors, navy and navy-yards, docks, magazines, arms, armaments, and all other property and means pertaining to the public defence belonging to said Republic of Texas, shall retain all the public funds, debts, taxes, and dues of every kind, which may belong to or be due and owing said Republic; and shall also retain all the vacant and unappropriated lands lying within its limits, to be applied to the payment of the debts and liabilities of said Republic of Texas, and the residue of said lands, after discharging said debts and liabilities to be disposed of as said State may direct; but in no event are said debts and liabilities to become a charge upon the Government of the United States. *Third*, New States, of convenient size, not exceeding four in number, in addition to said State of Texas, and having sufficient population, may hereafter, by the consent of said State, be formed out of the territory thereof, which shall be entitled to admission under the provisions of the Federal Constitution. And such States as may be formed out of that portion of said territory lying south of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union with or without slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire. And in such State or States as shall be formed out of said territory north of said Missouri compromise line, slavery, or involuntary servitude, (except for crime,) shall be prohibited.

3. *And be it further resolved*, That if the President of the United States shall in his judgment and discretion deem it most advisable, instead of proceeding to submit the foregoing resolution to the Republic of Texas, as an overture on the part of the United States for admission, to negotiate with that Republic; then,

Be it resolved, That a State to be formed out of the present Republic of Texas with suitable extent and boundaries, and with two representatives in Congress, until the next apportionment of representation, shall be admitted into the Union, by virtue of this act, on an equal footing with the existing States, as soon as the terms and conditions of such admission, and the cession of the remaining Texan territory to the United States shall be agreed upon by the Governments of Texas and the United States: And that the sum of one hundred thousand dollars be and the same is hereby appropriated to defray the expenses of missions and negotiations, to agree upon the terms of said admission and cession, either by treaty to be submitted to the Senate, or by articles to be submitted to the two Houses of Congress, as the President may direct.

James Hamilton, of South Carolina, who is several times referred to in our notes upon Texas, has had the reputation of being the Chevalier Bayard of the South. With an eminently military mind, and with large military experience acquired in his native State, his position at the head of the army of Texas, had it been accepted, would have undoubtedly been a commanding one, and given an impulse to her cause throughout the Union. Want of success in negotiating the Texan loan, after the most Herculean labors, and in consequence of circumstances which were altogether beyond his reach, was the occasion of pecuniary embarrassments and reverses to Gen.

Hamilton, from which he has never yet recovered. Other misfortunes have befallen him, but nothing has soiled the bright escutcheon of his fame and honor, by even the impress of a breath. An officer of the army in the war of 1812, soon after Mayor of Charleston, he was in 1824 elected to the lower House of Congress, to the seat then vacated by the death of the great Lowndes. Here he served with highest honor and influence, until about 1830, when he was elected, during the exciting times of nullification, to be Governor of the State of South Carolina. "As Governor of the State, (having been specially elected as best fitted for the crisis,) he was the very life and soul of resistance to federal usurpation. Every citizen of Carolina at that eventful and anxious period felt the utmost confidence in his indomitable energy and his high executive ability, his lofty and serene courage—for to no human being could more justly be applied the epithet once appropriated to an illustrious statesman—"*Mens serena in arduis.*"

Since that period, Gen. Hamilton, with the exception of his Texan services, has been in comparative retirement, though actively engaged in the management of his greatly embarrassed private affairs; but we are glad to perceive that he is still held at home in high estimation, and even now is strongly advocated, in some of the prints, as in every respect, the proper man to fill the seat in the United States Senate lately vacated by the decease of Judge Butler.

Gen. Memucan Hunt has but recently passed from the stage of action. His was a noble and generous spirit, which preserved its enthusiasm and hopefulness amid every scene of trial and difficulty. A chivalrous and high-toned gentleman, a warm and devoted friend, a just and brave man: he may be scarcely said to have made an enemy in life, and will ever be regretted by all who knew him. To us, who indite these lines, his memory will always be cherished. We knew him in later years, when misfortunes came thick and fast, and can readily close the eye to faults, which were not a few, (it may be said of all of us,) when calling to mind the many sterling qualities of his heart. Peace to his repose.

Gen. Hunt did good service to the cause of Texas. He removed in 1835 from North Carolina to Mississippi, where he found much excitement existing in regard to Texan affairs. He immediately aided a company to embark for the seat of war, and soon afterwards, at New Orleans, pledged his personal credit to a large amount in aid of the enterprise of Gen. Thomas Green. His arrival in Texas was later than the battle of San Jacinto, and he was immediately honored by President Lamar with the rank of Major-General. He aided by

his private means, several companies to embark from Virginia and North Carolina, and was shortly afterwards appointed by Gen. Houston as Envoy and Minister to the United States. Here his services in procuring the recognition of the Republic were unremitting, and attended with signal success. His letters to Mr. Forsyth, in 1837, urging annexation, were able documents. In 1838 he signed a treaty of limits of the two Republics, and, on leaving Washington, was tendered a public dinner by Messrs. Calhoun, Clay, Preston, and others. Returning to Texas, he was appointed by Mr. Lamar, Secretary of the Navy, and, afterwards, filled the posts of Commissioner to settle the boundary, Inspector, and Adjutant-General, &c. When the war broke out between Mexico and the United States, Gen. Hunt hastened to join the regiment of Col. Hayes, taking his position in the ranks.

Gen. Rusk is, at this moment, beyond all question, the man of largest influence in Texas. He is a frank, open-hearted, manly, and unassuming gentleman, possessing the largest practical intelligence, and the most estimable and endearing traits of character. Simple in manners, incapable of affectation or concealment in his views, prompt, bold, and unhesitating in their utterance: his circle of friends is always enlarging, and his devotion to them is unbounded. It will be recollected, that Mr. Webster paid the highest compliment to the great qualities of Gen. Rusk. In the Senate of the United States he has acquired an influence possessed by scarcely another of that body. At the last session he was elected, by a flattering vote, its presiding officer. Gen. Rusk is still a man of middle age, and, considering his wide national influence, would yet become a formidable competitor for the highest posts in the Republic, if his modesty and retiring disposition would permit.

He is by birth a South Carolinian, and distinguished himself in all of the affairs of Texas. He was at the siege of San Antonio, was appointed to raise supplies, called to head quarters, and elected Secretary of War. In all these positions, his energy, skill, and bravery, were manifested. At San Jacinto he was present upon the field of action, cheering and encouraging the troops; and, after the action, succeeded to the command of the army. His Indian wars were numerous and decisive, and added largely to his military reputation. He was in the Cabinet of Gen. Houston, and was elected to the head of the military establishment of Texas by a two-thirds vote in both branches of Congress. After annexation he was the first Senator from that State that repaired to Washington. For nearly twelve years he has been unflagging in the duties

of that exalted position, and, with but rare exceptions, has given eminent public satisfaction.

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This much had been written by us in testimony of the distinguished merits and high public services of Gen. Rusk, when the wires accomplished their melancholy mission, and brought home to our hearth the sad intelligence "Gen. Rusk is dead." For three weeks our notes have remained untouched, and even now we have but little heart to refer to them again. Crushing, overwhelming sorrow, in those brief words. A dear personal friend has gone—one who had proved his affectionate fidelity in the hour of greatest trial. We had known him long, and loved him. Every day added to our affection and respect. Not a pulse of our heart that would not have bounded with joy to have aided in adding to his honor and his happiness. He was a true, a noble, and an honest man. In these days of public obliquity his counterpart will not often be found. Ambition he had none, except to do his duty. Though his name was often mentioned for the highest office in the Republic, he ever shrunk from the association; and, more than once in our intercourse, has declared with warmth and modest self-depreciation, when it was alluded to, "I have not the talent for such a place." The Vice-Presidency was once or twice within his reach, and, in 1856, few will doubt that had the nomination of either of three prominent parties proved impracticable, the Presidency would have been tendered to Gen. Rusk with great unanimity. It was the feeling of hundreds of delegates whom we met on their passage to the Convention. But he has gone, and now all that was revered of him, can only

"Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust."

The following biographical sketch of Gen. Rusk, taken from the Galveston News, will be read with interest throughout the Union, and it will be a fitting chapter in our historical sketches of Texas with whose whole existence his career is so intimately blended:

The sudden and untimely death of this distinguished soldier and statesman, has thrown over our community, and, indeed, over the whole State, a shade of sorrow and gloom unprecedented in the history of Texas. Identified, as he has been, with almost every important event connected with her progress, from the condition of an oppressed colony of Mexico to her present proud position among the sovereign States of the American Union, his noble presence seemed the personification of that Commonwealth whose independence he had so bravely and successfully struggled to achieve—whose interests and honor he has so long and faithfully represented. In his departure, the people of Texas truly have cause to mourn the loss of one of their purest and most capable public servants—one whose whole manhood has been devoted to their welfare—whose only thought was for the advancement of their prosperity.

Thomas J. Rusk was born in the year 1807, in the Pendleton district of South Carolina. His father, who had emigrated from Ireland, was an honest and in-

dustrious stone-mason, and lived upon land belonging to the late Hon. John C. Calhoun. "Tom," as the subject of this memoir was then familiarly called, at an early day displayed such a strength and capacity of mind as to attract the attention of Mr. Calhoun, who at once took a decided interest in the boy, and assisted to advance him in various ways. Through his influence, Tom was placed in the office of William Grisham, Esq., clerk for many years for Pendleton District, where he not only earned his livelihood, but made himself familiar with the law, to the practice of which he was soon admitted. He subsequently removed to Clarksville, Habersham county, Georgia, where he married the daughter of Gen. Cleveland, at that time one of the leading men of that section of the State.

In the year 1832, Mr. Rusk, then but twenty-five years of age, stood at the head of the bar in the upper counties of Georgia, known as the "Gold Region," and enjoyed an extensive and lucrative practice. The spirit of speculation was very active in that State, and it was but natural that one so young and sanguine should partake of the general excitement. Unfortunately for Mr. Rusk, he became largely interested in the stock of a company of miners and speculators in land, whose managers were faithless and corrupt, and who finally absconded in 1835 with the property of the company, and left him, with others, in poverty and in debt. He followed them to Texas immediately, with the hope of recovering some of the funds of the company, but he overtook them west of the Sabine, only to find that they had squandered and gambled away the whole of their ill-gotten gains.

Arriving at Nacogdoches at a time when the people of that vicinity were greatly excited by the reports of atrocities committed by Mexicans in the West upon Americans who had fallen into their hands, Rusk mounted the platform at a public meeting, and, after electrifying his audience by an eloquent appeal to their patriotism, volunteered to be one of a company to march at once to the rescue of their living countrymen and the avenging of the slain. The enthusiastic response of the crowd before him was evidence enough that the youthful stranger had found the way through their rough and tough exteriors into their warm hearts. A company was immediately formed, and Rusk was chosen to lead it to the seat of war. From that time until the day of his death, Thomas J. Rusk was a Texan, in every just and honorable sense of the word.

We first hear of him in actual service before the walls of San Antonio, where he distinguished himself by his daring attempts to draw the enemy from the works. Immediately after the first successes at San Antonio, Col. Rusk was appointed by the Governor and Council to proceed east of the Trinity to procure reinforcements and supplies for the besiegers, with power to press such as were deemed necessary, if not otherwise obtainable. Although San Antonio fell before these wise provisions could be carried out, the valuable assistance collected by Rusk, in men and munitions of war, were of great service to the army in the succeeding events.

Early in January of 1836, the Provisional Government called a convention of delegates to assemble at Washington on the 1st of March, to consider the question of an independent republic. The election was held on the 1st of February, and Thomas J. Rusk, with others, was chosen from the department of Nacogdoches. The early sessions of the Convention were disturbed by reports of the near approach of the Mexican army, and the members on the second day of March declared the independence of the Republic of Texas, and on the 16th adopted the Constitution which had been hastily thrown together. They also elected a President and Cabinet, David G. Burnet being chosen to the first office, and Thos. J. Rusk, among the latter, as Secretary of War. The Convention adjourned on the 17th, and Rusk soon after joined the army on the Brazos, then under the command of Gen. Houston. He was very active in collecting supplies for the campaign, and adopted stringent measures to prevent the misdirection of the available means of the country. The seat of government had been removed to Harrisburg, but the Secretary of War continued at the headquarters of the army, so that the orders which he should give for the general direction of the campaign might not be intercepted by the enemy.

The defeat of Fannin at the Coleta, and other reverses in the West, having

induced the Commander-in-chief to order a retreat, the line of march was taken towards the East. Gen. Houston intended to proceed beyond the Trinity, and perhaps as far as the Sabine in that direction, but the rank and file of the army, as well as a large majority of the officers, were desirous of meeting the enemy as soon as possible, and of putting a stop to his further devastating progress. In this sentiment Col. Rusk participated, and although disposed to give Houston, as far as possible, the direction of the tactics of the campaign, he in this instance gave positive orders which Houston did not endorse. While the army was encamped, on the evening previous to its reaching the forks of the road, the Commander-in-chief called Col. Sidney Sherman to his tent and directed him to go through the camp and inform the officers and men that on the next day they would take the road to Harrisburg—that Col. Rusk, Secretary of War, had given him a positive order to move in that direction, and that he was bound to obey the order as coming from his superior. The order was received by the whole army with the greatest enthusiasm, as it ensured a speedy termination of the retreat and gave hope of a battle with the advancing Mexicans—a hope which was gloriously fulfilled on the field of San Jacinto a few days thereafter. Thus, it will be perceived, the most decisive and the most memorable event in the history of Texas, was brought about by the wise assumption of responsibility by Col. Rusk, at a time when the destinies of the Republic hung in dubious suspense. It was upon the pivot of this order that the whole weight of our subsequent history depends, and it was doubtless the realization of this, that induced its author to apply to Col. (now General) Sherman, several years afterwards, for a certificate of the facts as here related, which certificate was given and is probably yet preserved among the papers of our lamented Senator.

The events of the 21st of April, 1836, are too familiar to all to need recapitulation. The part which Col. Rusk performed upon the battle field was second to none in point of wisdom, courage, and effective service. While the Texan columns were advancing towards the enemy's front, the General-in-chief received a wound in his ankle and immediately called on the troops to halt, but Rusk, perceiving that to halt at that moment would be certain ruin rode forward and cried, "push on boys, push on," and they did push on under the lead of the gallant Secretary, shouting, "*Remember the Alamo*," "*Remember Goliad*," and they won a victory in one hour which has secured freedom and prosperity to an empire. It was the mission of Rusk to win the laurels of that day, and for other men to wear them.

The wound of General Houston disabling him from active service, he resigned the command of the army, which he had held since the preceding 6th of March. The whole army together with President Burnet and his Cabinet, united in urging Rusk to assume the office of Commander-in-chief, with the rank of Brigadier General, to which he finally assented, and was succeeded in the Cabinet by M. B. Lamar.

Santa Anna who was taken prisoner after the battle of San Jacinto, having entered into preliminary arrangements for a treaty of peace, sent word to General Fillisola, who was advancing from the west to his assistance, to evacuate the country. Gen. Rusk dispatched Col. Sherman with a small detachment of troops, to watch the movements of Fillisola, who had begun to retire at the command of his superior. Gen. Rusk followed soon after with the remainder of the army, and joined Col. Sherman at Victoria. From thence they both proceeded Goliad, the scene of Fannin's recent defeat and the inhuman slaughter of his little garrison. The remains of the unfortunate victims, which had been partially burned by the Mexicans, were scattered here and there over the field of conflict, presenting a most revolting spectacle. Gen. Rusk ordered them to be collected together, and when this was done and everything prepared for their interment, the General pronounced an oration, which, for eloquence and pathos, surpassed anything that had ever reached any sympathetic ear in that heroic audience. Many a rough and hardy soldier, with eyes unused to weeping, shed copious tears on that occasion over the seared remains of his compatriots. The oration was subsequently published, and we venture to say that no one has ever read its thrilling lines without feeling his nature stirred from its inmost depths. Upon the conclusion of the oration the remains were deposited in one common grave with the rights and honors of military burial.

Some two or three days after this, Col. Ugartechea, who had been in command of the Mexican garrison at San Antonio arrived at Goliad with his forces, on his way to evacuate the country, in accordance with the orders of his superior officer, Gen. Fillisola. The latter had left at Goliad a few provisions which Ugartechea was to obtain for his own use, but such were the exasperated feelings of the Texan army, so recently excited by a review of the atrocities of Fannin's massacre, that it was with much difficulty that Gen. Rusk could restrain them from attacking the Mexicans and taking retributive vengeance for the wrongs of their own countrymen. The army stores were, however, given to Ugartechea, and he proceeded on his route to the coast. Gen. Rusk then fell back to Victoria, where, on the 17th of June, he received a dispatch from Captain Karnes and Teal, who were held as prisoners at Matamoras, to the effect that the Mexicans were making active preparations for another invasion of Texas. This dispatch was brought through by Mr. Joseph J. Powell, a brother of our well known fellow-citizen Samuel Powell. The most active preparations were entered upon by Gen. Rusk to meet the threatened invasion, but the Mexicans, learning that their plans had been anticipated, abandoned their hostile intentions.

In the fall of 1836, Gen. Rusk was appointed to a seat in the Cabinet of President Houston, which he accepted, leaving the command of the army to Gen. Felix Houston. He remained in the Cabinet but a few weeks, his private affairs requiring his whole attention at home. In the year following he was elected to the second Congress of the Republic, from Nacogdoches, and was continued as a member of that body for several successive terms. In 1838 his friends desired to elect him President, but he would not consent, preferring to see Gen. Lamar in the executive office, who was accordingly chosen. In August of the same year, a rebellion broke out among the Mexicans of Nacogdoches and vicinity, against the authority of Texas, and the rebels were joined by several hundred Cherokee Indians. By the prompt action of Gen. Rusk, who immediately organized a corps of volunteers and proceeded against the enemy, the revolt was speedily subdued and its discontents effectually dispersed. Two months after this he captured and disarmed a portion of the Caddoes, the most dangerous tribe in Eastern Texas, and handed them over to the agent of the United States at Shreveport, Louisiana. During the following summer he was at the head of the Nacogdoches regiment, fighting the Cherokees and other tribes, which had been incited to numerous acts of violence and murder by Mexican enemies, and were evidently preparing for a general rising against the Texans. In the memorable actions of the 15th and 16th of July, 1839, in which "Bowles," the Chief of the Cherokees, was killed, Gen. Rusk was in the thickest of the fight, and won new laurels for other brows than his to wear.

In all of these movements against the Indians on the frontier, although acting nominally under the orders of Brigadier General Douglass, Gen. Rusk was the most efficient officer of that campaign, and deserves the credit of its success.

The Congress of 1838-9 elected Rusk to the office of Chief Justice of the Republic, which he held until 1840, and then resigned. His attention was now given to the practice of the law, in which he stood the foremost at the bar. In 1843 he was elected Major General of the militia for one year, in which office he was succeeded by Gen. Sydney Sherman, who was elected for four years—the tenure of the office having been changed to that term. This office, under the Republic, was a very responsible one, conferring as it did almost unlimited powers upon the incumbent.

In 1844-5 the question of annexation was prominent before the people, and Gen. Rusk was among the first and warmest advocates of the measure. He was elected to the Convention of 1845 to form a State Constitution, and of this Convention he was unanimously chosen President. His eminent legal abilities, and his long experience in the affairs of the Republic, combined with the native excellence of his character, rendered him the foremost in influence, as he was in position, of that Convention, and enabled him to render invaluable service to the State.

The first Legislature of Texas conferred upon him the office of United States Senator, in March, 1846, and in that position he has ever since continued to serve

his country with fidelity until the day of his death. In that august body of which he was a member, he held a proud and influential position. For several terms he was at the head of the Post Office Committee, and on the election of Mr. Buchanan to the Presidency, the voice of the whole nation seemed to unite upon the name of Rusk, as the most proper and acceptable, in connection with the Postmaster Generalship of the new cabinet. It was understood that this appointment was offered to him by the President elect, and that Mr. Rusk per-emptorially declined it.* Early in the last session of Congress, Mr. Rusk was chosen to the high and responsible position of President *pro tem.* of the Senate, in which he continued until the close of the session, administering the duties of the chair with all that dignity, impartiality, and ability so necessary to their acceptable discharge, and winning the unanimous commendation of the members. No one, in fact, was more popular among his fellow Senators, and none more trusted, honored, or beloved. Seldom rising in his place to deliver a set speech, he was nevertheless watchful of the interests of his constituents, and the honor and welfare of the Union, and when he did address the Senate his words had their desired effect. The weight of his influence was more generally felt in the committee of which he was a member, and in his private intercourse with his colleagues, where his sound practical sense, yet modest and unassuming manners, carried the force of conviction with the charm of integrity.

Had Thomas J. Rusk lived, he could have reached any official position in this Union to which he would aspire. Always retiring in his disposition, it was with difficulty that his own best friends, who knew and appreciated his true worth, could induce him to accept the honors they were ever ready to confer upon him. Social and domestic in his habits, warm in his friendship, and devoted in his attachments, he preferred the quiet joys of private life at home to the noisy plaudits of the multitude abroad; yet, while he sought not the latter at any time, he often yielded to the former at the call of his constituents, and for the benefit of his country. But the death, last year, of the life-long partner of his bosom, who had shared with him the sorrows of exile and the dangers of revolution, as well as the pleasures of honorable distinction and pecuniary prosperity, seemed to unnerve him for the conflict of a public career, and cause him to shrink from the world into the sacred retreat of home. It was to him like the rupture of his strong heart-sinews, and the tearing asunder of the cords of life. Other causes may have contributed to his fatal despondency, but this was undoubtedly the heaviest weight of sorrow that dragged him down to death. Only noble and sensitive natures are capable of such depth and intensity of woe. Let us throw the white veil over the scene of his final struggle. With reverence let us consign that noble form to the mausoleum of the past, and with gratitude inscribe upon the tablet of our memory the record of his manly virtues and his patriotic deeds.

NATIVE GRAPES OF NORTH CAROLINA.

The soil and climate of North Carolina are peculiarly adapted to the growth and profitable culture of many choice varieties of grape. When the first colonists, sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584, landed on Roanoke Island, off the coast of North Carolina, they were charmed with the great abundance of grapes which greeted their eyes. In the quaint but forcible language of Barlowe, one of the leaders of this early adventurous band, "we viewed the land about us, being, where we first landed, very sandy and low toward the water-side, but so full of grapes as the very beating and surge of the sea overflowed them, of which we found such plenty, as well there as

* This, perhaps, is an error.—EDITOR.

in all places else, both on the sand and on the green soil, on the hills as in the plains, as well as on every little shrub, as also climbing towards the tops of high cedars, that I think in all the world the like abundance is not to be found." This is not an overwrought picture, applying as it does, to the Scoupernong and other varieties in their native luxuriance.

The original *species* of the grape are few, but the *varieties* are almost innumerable. A brief description of some of our more important native species and varieties will be here presented.

SCOUPERNONG GRAPE.—This is a variety of *Vitis Rotundifolia*. It is a white grape, very luscious and sweet. In the whole Albemarle region of North Carolina it is found in great abundance. It attains its greatest perfection on the sandy soils of the eastern portion of the State, although it has been successfully raised in more elevated localities. A vine on Roanoke Island, said to have been planted there by the first colonists, covers nearly half an acre of ground, and bears abundantly to the extremity of its branches. According to a late eye witness, "it continues to grow, and only wants an extension of scaffolding. It should never be pruned; give it room and let it run." Seedlings from this grape, in most cases, show a propensity to run into the common *muscadine*, the usual specific type found in many States of the Union.

THE CATAWBA GRAPE.—This is a variety of *Vitis Labrusca*, so called from the province of Labrusque, in France. The name, however, is a misnomer. It should have been called *Vitis Americana*, as it is distinct from any species of the Old World. This excellent variety originated on the headwaters of the Catawba river, in a mountainous portion of Western Carolina—the Switzerland of America. It is a red grape, with fine, aromatic flavor, and, in the language of Mr. Longworth, of Ohio, whose success in wine-making is well known, is destined to prove a mine of wealth to many an enterprising citizen of the United States. A superior wine, the "Sparkling Catawba," is now made from it, and its cultivation is extending into many localities of the South and West. Other choice varieties of grape are occasionally found in the western part of the State, embracing the counties of Gaston, Lincoln, Catawba, Burke, Buncombe, and others, all watered by the Catawba and its tributaries, only requiring skillful culture to bring them into notoriety.

THE ISABELLA GRAPE.—This is another variety of *Vitis Labrusca*. It was sent from Brunswick county, North Carolina, to Col. George Gibbs, of Brooklyn, about the year 1810, and planted in his garden. The elder Prince first saw it there, some years afterwards, in a flourishing condition, and gave it the complimentary name of *Isabella*, after Mrs. Isabella Gibbs,

wife of Col. Gibbs. Although not so highly esteemed as the preceding variety, yet it is still used as a table grape, and successfully raised in certain localities.

THE LINCOLN GRAPE.—This is also a variety of *Vitis Labrusca*. It originated a few years ago in Lincoln county, North Carolina, and is regarded as a fine table grape. Under proper culture it might, no doubt, be turned to good account. There are still other varieties of this species of grape found in different parts of the United States, which our limits will prevent us from noticing.

It will be thus seen that the low sandy soils of the eastern and the high table lands of the western portion of North Carolina have furnished their respective choice varieties of grape, the Soupernong (Indian *sweet-water*) the representative of the one, and the Catawba of the other. And what, it may be here asked, prevents North Carolina from becoming, at no distant day, eminently a wine-producing State? Blest by nature with a congenial soil and climate, success would surely attend well-directed efforts in cultivating the grape. Let some of her enterprising citizens engage judiciously in the business, and ere long we may expect to see the *tasteful* addition of *wine* included among the staple commodities of the Old North State.

WEALTH OF MISSISSIPPI.

From the report of the Auditor of Public Accounts, made at the recent session of the Legislature, we make up the following statement, showing at a glance the wealth and resources of the State of Mississippi:

Money loaned at interest.....	\$6,718,658
Merchandise sold by regular merchants.....	15,552,194
Amount of bank stock.....	615,100
Merchandise sold at auction.....	51,772
Number of pleasure carriages.....	11,486
Value of same.....	\$1,666,079
Number of watches.....	13,941
Value of same.....	\$815,140
Number of clocks.....	18,599
Value of same.....	\$168,939
Number of cattle over 20 head.....	220,664
Number of taxable horses.....	6,443
Value of same.....	\$896,044
Value of gold and silver plate.....	223,178
Number of pianos.....	2,233
Value of same.....	\$494,628
Number of slaves taxable.....	334,886
Number of free white polls taxable.....	53,301
Amount of State tax on personal property.....	\$227,114 70
Number of acres of land now taxable.....	15,913,522
Value of same.....	\$88,703,203
Number of acres held by State for taxes.....	421,553
Total value of lands held by the State for taxes.....	\$501,325
State tax on lands now taxable.....	\$146,702 47

SOUTHERN CONVENTION COMMITTEES.

Acting in pursuance of the several resolutions adopted by the late Convention at Knoxville, I hereby nominate the following committees, and earnestly call upon them to perform the duties assigned to each before the next session of the Convention at Montgomery, on the second Monday of May next:

1. To present to Congress the subject of the repeal of fishery bounties: Roger Pryor, of Virginia; Maunsel White and Wm. A. Elmore, of Louisiana; J. L. Jones, of Georgia.

2. To prepare and publish a call for the next meeting of the Convention: Hon. James Lyons, of Virginia; T. B. Bethea, of Alabama; Hon. W. M. Churchwell, of Tennessee; Hon. W. W. Boyce, of South Carolina; B. C. Yaney, of Georgia.

3. To memorialize Congress upon the repeal of tobacco duties in foreign ports: W. M. Burwell, of Virginia; Hon. James Guthrie, of Kentucky; General Tench Tilghman, of Maryland; Thomas C. Reynolds, of Missouri.

4. On Southern School Books: The following names are added to the committee raised at the last session of the Convention: Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, of Louisiana, chairman of the committee; Hon. John Perkins, Jr., of Louisiana; William Gilmore Sims, LL. D., and R. B. Carroll, of South Carolina; C. K. Marshall, of Mississippi.

5. On the comparative expense of selling cotton in the several Southern cities: G. P. Elliott, of South Carolina; — Stuart, of Mississippi; J. L. Jones, of Georgia; T. J. Prince, of Alabama; General Sparrow, of Louisiana.

6. To suggest suitable business for the next Convention: David Hubbard, of Alabama; J. M. Clay, of Arkansas; Governor Mosely, of Florida; B. H. Overby, of Georgia; J. A. Acklen, of Louisiana; J. Clapp, of Mississippi; Romulus Saunders, of North Carolina; General Gideon Pillow, of Tennessee; Edwin Ruffin, of Virginia. (The President of the Convention is made by the resolution chairman of this committee.)

7. On the culture of the grape at the South: Herman Bokum and Rev. J. Esperandieu, of Tennessee; A. G. Sumner, of South Carolina; Dr. Cloud, of Alabama; Thos. Affleck, of Mississippi.

8. To collect facts bearing upon the re-opening of the African slave-trade, to be presented at the next session of the Convention: L. W. Spratt, of South Carolina; Hon. Thos. Clingman, of North Carolina; Hon. R. Toombs, of Georgia; Hon. Wm. M. Yancey, of Alabama; General Quitman, of Mississippi; Governor James E. Brown, of Florida; Hon. John Perkins, of Louisiana; Dr. Ramsey, of Tennessee; Hon. Albert Rust, of Arkansas; Dr. Brewer, of Montgomery County, Maryland; Roger A. Pryor, of Virginia.

J. D. B. DE BOW,
President Southern Convention.

SORGHO SUCRE EXPERIMENTS.

A great deal of interest just now is manifested throughout the country in regard to the cultivation of the Sorgho or Chinese Sugar Cane, which many have thought would substitute very materially the old cane cultivation. We scarcely take up a Southern paper which has not something upon the subject. In South Carolina, particularly, the experiment is being fairly tested, and we await with interest the result.

The great question is, "will the Sorgho granulate," for upon this will depend almost entirely its value, since there is no

scarcity of syrup producers and approved grasses and other materials of fodder. Still the virtues of the plant in these respects may prove to be considerable.

The *Charleston Courier*, of September 14, says:

"We are indebted to the politeness of Capt. A. Roumillat, proprietor of the well known manufactory in this city, for the results of a trial which he has given to the Sorgho cane, for the purpose of testing its possibility of crystallization.

"Capt. R. procured 300 canes from the farm of Thos. H. Deas, which, after being properly crushed, produced 21 gallons of juice. This juice, after boiling and evaporation, yielded 3 gallons and 3 quarts of syrup. He then boiled it to the granulating point, but the syrup refused to granulate. It was rather inclined to burn. This experiment was made under Capt. Roumillat's own eye, and every care was taken that it might be successful. He is satisfied, therefore, that the syrup is not susceptible of granulation—and that sugar cannot be made from the Sorgho."

The *New Orleans Delta*, of September 10, says:

"I have cultivated about three-quarters of an acre of Sorghum saccharatum for an experiment; got about thirty bushels of seed, and find all the stock, horses, cattle, and hogs, very fond of the stalks. I think it will make a good substitute for green corn and oats, but the stalks will not bear curing for fodder, unless cut very often and cured when small; if allowed to ripen, they must be cut whenever wanted for immediate use. They are very nutritious when ripe, but much more watery than sugar-cane; and, in my opinion, the Chinese cane will never successfully compete with our old-fashioned sugar-cane for the purpose of making sugar."

SLAVERY IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA, AND MEXICO.

General William Walker, the Nicaraguan chief, has lately written a letter, in which he exposes, with great ability, the true state of the slavery question as it connects itself with our southern neighbors of Mexico and Central America. We give an extract from his letter:

The events which have followed the abolition of slavery in tropical America strikingly illustrate the fact that government is a science and not a fine art, and that its laws are to be sought for inductively—not through the sentiments or emotions. The pharisaical philanthropy of Exeter Hall has made Hayti and all Spanish America the seat of dire and almost endless civil war; it is fast converting Jamaica into a wilderness. Further than this, it is making the whole western coast of Africa one vast slave ship, before which the horrors of the middle passage sink into insignificance. The slavery of the negro to his fellow-savage—productive as it necessarily is of cannibalism and human sacrifice—has been a hundred fold increased by efforts to suppress the slave-trade; and the vices of the smuggler have been added to those properly belonging to the slaver, by forcing him to carry on his trade with the halter around his neck.

A comparison of the negro in Africa with what he is in the United States, or even in Cuba and Brazil, shows the advantage of Western slavery to the inferior race. The condition of tropical America, where slavery does not exist, indicates its necessity for the development of the natural wealth of that portion of the world.

And of all the countries of tropical America, Nicaragua has most need for a thorough re-organization of labor. The revolutions of nearly forty years have made idlers of a large majority of the population, and but for the exceeding fertility of the soil, would long since have converted it into a desert. The re-

introduction of negro slavery constitutes the speediest and most efficient means for enabling the white race to establish itself permanently in Central America, and it is the consciousness of this fact which is leading to a combination of the mixed races of Spanish America for the purpose of excluding slavery forever from the territories now occupied by them. The tendency of this combination is, of course, to confine slavery on the American continent within its present limits; and it appears to me of some importance that the evidences of the combination should be placed before the people of the Southern States.

Nor are written and palpable evidences of this combination lacking. You may find them in the archives of Costa Rica at San Jose, and in those of New Granada at Bogota. Still nearer home you may find the evidences not only of the Spanish-American combination, but also of British complicity with it, among the archives of Washington and of Westminster. It is strange that these facts have attracted so little attention on the part of the Southern people; but they may feel the importance of them long after they have lost the power to control the consequences of the combination.

To the facts. In the month of May, 1856, a treaty was entered into between the States of New Granada and Costa Rica. Ostensibly the main object of this treaty was the settlement of a boundary question long pending between the two republics; and the treaty was signed soon after the English government had agreed to furnish arms to Costa Rica for the purpose of fighting the Americans in Nicaragua. But in this treaty the strange and singular clause is inserted whereby the contracting parties agree that slavery shall never be introduced into the territories of either. No intimate relations exist between those republics; for, although coterminous, a vast uninhabited region extends between the cultivated districts of the two countries. And yet these two sovereignties yield to each powers over the other, which one State of your Confederacy will not yield either to a sister State or to the Federal Government.

It must have been a powerful influence which secured the insertion of such a clause into a treaty concerning boundaries. Nor are we left to conjecture the source of this influence.

Not many weeks after the treaty between Costa Rica and New Granada was signed, Great Britain entered into a treaty by which the Bay Islands were given up to Honduras, with the proviso that slavery should be forever excluded from them. And this treaty signed by the Honduras Commissioner and the British Secretary of State, is afterwards embodied in what is known as the Dallas Clarendon treaty. It receives the signature of the American Minister at London, is approved by an American Secretary of State, and an American President sends it for ratification to the American Senate. One is almost tempted to believe that the United States itself is not unwilling to become a party to a treaty which is an insult as well as an injury to the whole Southern people.

And other Spanish-American States have shown their desire to join in this league. Not only was the proposition for a general combination of these republics discussed in the Chilian Congress, but a Chilian Commissioner was sent to San Jose for the purpose of negotiating a treaty with Costa Rica. A Chilian brig of war, too, having commissioned and warrant officers furnished by England and France, came to the coast of Central America with a view of aiding in the combination against the Americans at Nicaragua.

Nor is Mexico indifferent in the matter. Her border territories furnish a place of refuge for the runaways of the Southern and Southwestern States; and the new Mexican constitution just adopted has, I am told, a clause by which the central government is precluded from making a treaty with the United States for the extradition of fugitive slaves. In fact, you have but to read the journals of the Spanish-American republics from Mexico to Chili, to be satisfied of the enmity—active as well as passive—to the people and institutions of the Southern States.

Independent, then, of the importance to the whole United States and to civilization generally of Americanism in Nicaragua, I cannot but regard our success as of more immediate and vital consequence to the people of the Southern States. It involves the question whether you will permit yourselves to be hemmed in on the South as you already are on the North and on the West—

whether you will remain quiet and idle while impassable barriers are being built on the only side left open for your superabundant energy and enterprise. If the South is desirous of imitating the gloomy grandeur of the Eschylan Prometheus, she has but to lie supine a little while longer, and force and power will bind her to the rock, and the vulture will descend to tear the liver from her body. In her agony and grief she may console herself with the idea that she suffers a willing sacrifice.

COTTON CROP AND STATISTICS, 1857.

The New York Shipping List publishes as usual its annual statement of the Southern crop, though we have not received it in time for a full transcript into the pages of the Review :

The crop of the year ending Sept. 1st, reaching market, is ascertained to amount to 2,939,519 bales, against 3,527,845 last year, and 2,847,339 the year before. The total foreign export is 2,252,657 bales against 2,954,606 last year—a decrease of 701,949 bales. Of the crop 45,314 bales were Sea Islands, against 44,512 last year, and 40,841 the year before. The consumption of the country north of Virginia is shown to be 702,128 bales, in that State 18,541, and in the other Southern and Western States 119,246—making the entire consumption of the country to Sept. 1, 1857, say 840,000 bales, against 788,000 last year.

Home consumption of Cotton South and West of Virginia.

	1850.	1852.	1853.	1856.	1857.
North Carolina, bales...	20,000	15,000	18,500	22,000	25,000
South Carolina.....	15,000	10,000	10,500	15,000	17,000
Georgia.....	27,000	22,000	20,500	25,000	23,000
Alabama.....	6,000	5,000	5,500	6,500	5,000
Tennessee.....	12,000	7,000	4,000	7,000	9,000
On the Ohio, &c.....	27,500	16,000	26,000	42,000	38,000
Total to Sept 1.....	107,500	75,000	85,000	117,500	117,000

The above figures, adding stocks, etc., and excluding old cottons, make the aggregate crop reach 3,014,000 bales against

bales.	bales.	bales.	bales.
1856.. 3,335,000	1853.. 3,360,000	1851.. 2,450,000	1849.. 2,840,000
1855.. 3,178,000	1852.. 3,100,000	1850.. 2,212,000	1848.. 2,357,000
1854.. 3,000,000			

SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE.

We are rejoiced to perceive that this venerated Institution has been reorganized, by the re-installment of the old faculty, and are assured that its efficiency has never been greater than it will be during the approaching term. The late President has alone been omitted in the reorganization. Considering the weighty interests involved, the Trustees have done well to postpone the election of a President, until their meeting in December. The public require a full canvass of the merits of all of the candidates. It is practicable for the College, if properly regulated, like the University of Virginia, to attract many hundred students from every section of the South and Southwest.

The following are among the Board of Trustees, some of the most enlightened and liberal men in the State:

Gov. R. F. W. Allston, *President*. Hon. J. Chesnut, jr., Hon. J. Simons, Chancellor Chancellor Dargan, Johnston, Chancellor Wardlaw, Judge O'Neill, Judge Wardlaw, Judge Glover, Judge Munro, Judge Whitner, J. L. Petigru, W. Hempton, Rev. J. H. Thornwell, C. G. Memminger, B. F. Perry, F. J. Moses, J. Buchanan, R. W. Barnwell, J. H. Means, J. F. Townsend, W. F. DeSaussure, J. H. Adams, J. Farrow, T. S. Dawkins, Hon. W. C. Preston.

EDITORIAL, BOOK NOTICES, ETC.

We express our indebtedness to the Secretary of the *Smithsonian Institution* for a copy of the last Annual Report, (for 1856,) and find it to be as usual, a most interesting and valuable volume. At the same time our acknowledgements must be made to Senator Slidell of Louisiana, for a copy in quarto form of the *Second volume of the Pacific Railroad Surveys*. The volume embraces the reports of Lieut. Beckworth and Clarke, Capt. Pope, Mr. Engineer Lander, and Col. Emory, made under the directions of the Secretary of War in 1853-'54.

Report on the Commercial Relations of the United States with all Foreign Countries, made under the direction of the Secretary of State, Vol. III, Washington, 1857. This is a quarto, very handsomely printed and bound, and is placed upon our table through the courtesy of Edward Flagg, under whose charge it was prepared for the press. All the responses of our foreign Consuls to the circulars issued from the Department in 1854, are fully presented, and they will be found to embrace a vast accumulation of valuable matter. A fourth volume will contain the residue of these returns. The second volume referring exclusively to tariffs must be still postponed.

Mechanical Report of the Patent Office, 1856. This is presented in three volumes, which is an evidence of the great increase in the business and importance of the Office. The third volume is an entirely new feature, being devoted to drawings and illustrations which are handsomely executed under the direction and by M. C. Gritzner. Certainly the Mechanical Department of the Patent Office, in its superb and well arranged repository furnishes one of the most extraordinary museums in the world, and should be visited by every citizen who can reach the Federal Metropolis.

The National Pronouncing Speller, by Richard G. Parker and G. M. Watson authors of the National Series of Readers.

Introduction to the Manual of Geography, designed for junior classes in public or private schools, by Jas. Montheith.

These works constitute parts of one of the school series issued from the ex-

tensive house of A. S. Barnes & Co., New York.

The Political Text Book or Encyclopedia, containing everything necessary for the reference of the politicians and statesmen of the United States, edited by M. W. Cluskey, of Washington City, 1857. Too much praise cannot readily be accorded to the editor for this most useful manual. It condenses in small type, and in alphabetical order, almost all the leading documents, which are of constant reference in the political developments of the country from the earliest period to the present date, such to wit, as the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, the Ordinance of 1793, the Dred Scott case, the annexation of Texas, the Nebraska act, Kansas affairs, the platforms and history of all the great national parties, etc., etc. Such a compilation, so full, so minute, and so accurate has never been made before, and it is all reduced into convenient size. We have consulted the work frequently, and shall retain it by our side. It must be a perfect *vade mecum* for every one interested in the movements of the political world, and in a country like ours, who is not! The price of the work is \$3; and it can be had from the Author, at Washington City.

Life at the White Sulphur Springs, or pictures of a pleasant Summer, by Mary J. Windle, author of *Legends of the Waldenses*. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1857. A pleasant little volume this for fireside reading and to while away an occasional half hour. It embraces a great many lively sketches of persons and things at one of the most fashionable watering places during the Summer season, and it is easy to recognize the leading portraits. Several tales, elaborated to considerable length, are also incorporated, such as the Lady of the Rock, Pocahontas a Legend of Virginia, Grace Bartlett an American Tradition, &c. This graceful and modest, yet pleasant volume can be had in all the book stores of the South.

We are indebted to the Engineer Department of the United States for a copy of a most valuable map of our Western regions, extending from the Mississippi to the Pacific ocean.

The title of the map is "A Map of

the Territory of the United States, from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean," and it contains all the authentic explorations which have as yet been made in this extensive region, having a breadth east and west of 1,900 miles, and north and south of 1,600 miles. The map is one three millionth part of the size of the country represented, or on a scale of a about 47 miles to the inch, which, though too small to represent every feature and locality, is still large enough for all general purposes, and makes a sheet of 37 by 4 feet.

On this map trails of the exploring parties are all represented, with the name of the explorer and date of exploration, so that those interested in any particular section, have the proper authorities pointed out from which to seek for more extended details, making it as far as possible an index map.

Such portions as have not yet been explored are left blank on this compilation, or such rivers, lakes, and mountains as are known to exist therein are but faintly indicated. The whole, therefore, presents somewhat a skeleton appearance, and shows how much is yet to be learned. It must be remembered, however, that this appearance is increased by the unfinished state of the map; as large areas in California and Oregon, and the trail from Great Salt Lake to Southern California, although reduced upon the manuscript map, have not been engraved.

No general map of the country yet published contains one-third as much certain information, and where the portions left blank on this map, with the exceptions just indicated, are filled up on others, it has been on vague and uncertain information, or is merely the expression of the theories or surmises of the compiler.

The topography of the mountains has been copied as nearly as possible from the original maps, and the assemblage thus presented, so different from anything before published, goes far to overthrow many of the prevailing ideas concerning the mountain ranges, and systems into which theorizers have separated this great mountainous region. Though the ranges are, in general, in directions parallel to each other within certain limits, yet the same direction is not continued throughout the mass, nor is any range continuous from Mexico to the British possessions, they are for the most part separated by valleys or pla-

teaus, or linked together in such a way as to defy us at present to say in many cases what range is the continuation of another.

The divides between the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific are not always mountain ridges, nor do mountain ranges always form divides, as many of them are broken through by rivers.

The map shows that, having once entered the mountain region, the traveler is constantly surrounded by them, and there seems a necessity for considering all the mountains from the western border of the plains to the Pacific ocean, as but one great system.

A brief memoir will accompany the map when finished, giving an account of the routes pursued by the different explorers, the methods of observation employed, etc.

The map gives the names of locations of the Indian tribes, represents all the mountains that have been explored, and in every part gives the elevation of the country above the level of the sea. It has served the War Department greatly already in pointing out the routes for new explorations, and copies of it have also been furnished to the offices of the other Departments, and it was used in determining the location for the new wagon roads, for the construction of which the last Congress made provision under the Department of the Interior.

The work of compilation has been one of no little labor, and has been in progress nearly three years.

It is the design of the War Department to continue to add to it all authentic information, and to make it in every respect a complete record of the progress of the explorations in that country which separates the settlements in the Mississippi valley from those near the Pacific coast.

M. V. Moore, of Taylorsville, Tenn., proposes to edit a volume entitled "*Gems from Southern Poets*," illustrated, and requests us to invite from all sources, contributions, so that his collection may be full. We do so with pleasure.

Our thanks are due to Plowden C. Weston, Esq., of South Carolina, for a copy of his very interesting address delivered before the *Citizens of All Saints' Parish*; and, also, to William W. Holden, Esq., of North Carolina, for his address before the *State Educational Association* at Warrenton. The in-

formation which is afforded upon the education system of North Carolina, and of the country, is most valuable, and will aid us in future labors.

It is comfortable to continue to receive the approval of Southern men, while pursuing the course marked out for ourselves in the conduct of the Review, for such constitute by far the largest part of the reward. At this time but two or three extracts will be made from the correspondence on our table. Says a gentleman, at Beaufort, S. C., "I hope, most sincerely, you will ever remain as you are now, perfectly independent of parties and party ties, and continue to conduct a Review, which, I think, has had as much to do in making the South feel her power and strength, as any press published south of the Capitol."

Another, at Raleigh, N. C., adds: "There is no man who deserves more of the gratitude of the whole South than you do. You have done more to develop her resources, and infuse a spirit of self-reliance in her people, than all the wrangling politicians of the day. We want commercial independence! Considering the insults, assaults, wrongs, which we are incessantly receiving from the North, our present dependence upon them, and our disposition to encourage *their* industry at the expense of our own, is indeed humiliating—yes, *degrading!*"

Another, at Columbus, Geo., says: "I am highly pleased with the strong Southern stand you have taken, and for one, am willing to go with you *any length in that direction*. Your Review is by far the most thorough expounder and defender of our political principles and rights, and, as a Southerner, I feel grateful to you."

But we are ashamed of this egotism.

Those who are interested in medical education will refer to the advertisement of the "*New Orleans School of Medicine*," on another page. This Institution was opened twelve years ago under the most flattering auspices, and is now on the verge of its second season. The professors are all known as men of high professional skill, great zeal and intelligence, and esteemed personal character. The College building is almost at the door of the Charity Hospital, and its faculty are among the visiting physicians and surgeons of that Institution. We predict great and

growing success to the new school, and that New Orleans will become in the event one of the most prominent points for medical education in the Union. The number of its students will soon be augmented five fold.

A friend in Virginia called our attention lately to some remarks appearing in the papers by Python, published by us last Spring, to which as a Presbyterian, he takes exception. Had the particular remarks complained of attracted the editors attention, he would not have consented to their appearance. It is a question of religious controversy which he would be unwilling to have discussed in the Review. His Virginia friend, however, most nobly and zealously vindicates the conservative position of the Old School Presbyterian Church, and he takes great pleasure in quoting from his remarks:

"The sentiment uttered by one of our greatest Northern men, was as eloquent, as it is true, when he said: 'This civil Union may be divided, but the Old School Presbyterian Church will remain one.' She knows neither North, South, East, nor West, but one people, and her great commission is to preach to that people the gospel. This and this alone is her work as a Church of Jesus Christ. That our ministers and laymen differ, honestly, on many questions, and even on the question of slavery, we do not deny. As individuals they have a right to differ, for we hold that the *right of private judgment is universal and unalienable*. But as Presbyterians they are bound to study the *peace* as well as the purity of our Church, and they have no constitutional or moral right to introduce sectional issues and questions of strife, the tendency of which would be to disturb our peace, weaken our influence, and pervert the design of the great commission to preach the *gospel* to every creature, irrespective of climate, condition, or color. This we hold to be our work as a church of Christ. Occupying this position, our pulpits have not been disgraced with the isms of the day. Our ministers have gone to the sacred desk to glory only in the cross—holding it up as the great centre of attraction and hope—the power of God for a world's redemption. Nor have our church courts been agitated with strife and bitterness of feeling, forgetting their appropriate work, to devise ways and means for the spread

of the gospel, that it might be preached to Greek and Jew, Barbarian, Scythian, bond and free. And if this church has stood firm and unshaken amid the storms of fanaticism that darkened our political horizon, and sailed safely through the heaving billows that threatened to engulf our Ship of State—true to her position, and firm in her purpose to preach only the gospel to every creature, she may now rejoice in the clear sky which lights up her future."

In a late editorial of the Charleston Courier appears the following, which, in justice to our brethren, as well as to ourselves, we incorporate, trusting that the delicate hint will not be lost upon the Southern fraternity. The Editor of the Review is, however, far from entering a complaint, having been too long the recipient of courtesies from a large portion of the Southern press:

"We ask of our editorial brethren if they do not perceive generally throughout their exchange lists, more full and more frequent references to *Northern* than to *Southern Magazines*? And we ask further, if this discrimination is not found to be increasing in favor of the *Northern Magazines* in proportion as we recede from the great lines and routes of travel and communication? How common is it to meet a "Backwood's exchange" whose first page is occupied week after week with tales from some namby pamby vehicle of rosewater literature and sentimental syllabub? How common is it to find offers for clubbing—flaring and glaring announcements of prospectus, &c., &c., in favor or behalf of *Northern Magazines*?

"We need only suggest two questions, and leave the answers to the observation and experience of all concerned—whether in the magazine or the newspaper province—and beg leave, in conclusion, to submit two practical inferences and lessons:

"1. Let our newspaper brethren South and Southwest, give at least as much notice and publicity, in all forms of advantage, to *De Bow's*, the *The Southern Literary Messenger*, *Russell's Magazine*, and other organs of magazine literature, as they do to *Northern magazines*, which, to say the least, are not superior in literary claims.

"2. Let our Magazine friends see to it, that they embrace and employ all law-

ful and proper means of assisting publicity and challenging notice, and affording opportunities for all readers to examine and test their monthly views."

The well-known Irish patriot, John Mitchell, in conjunction with Wm. G. Swann, a citizen of Knoxville, proposes to publish in that city a new journal, to be called the "*Southern Citizen*." We endorse the movement with all our heart, for surely in no part of the South is an advocate of sound Southern opinion so much needed as at Knoxville and its vicinities. The following is a part of the prospectus of the *Southern Citizen*:

"It will uphold the Federal Union, provided the sovereignty of the Confederate States be respected: if not, not."

"Holding that the institution of negro slavery is a sound, just, wholesome institution; and, therefore, that the question of re-opening the African slave-trade is a question of expediency alone, the conductors of "*The Southern Citizen*" will, in view of the late action of the Southern Commercial Convention, at Knoxville, apply themselves to search out and bring to light all accessible information bearing upon that important subject—on the whole industrial condition and necessities of the South—on the actual state of the negro races of Africa, and on the policy and action of European powers in reference to the slave-trade." Weekly \$2 per annum.

The following list of *Works relating to Slavery and the South*, which appeared lately in the New Orleans Delta, though incomplete, is still very valuable, and should suggest to Southern men the propriety of collecting them together for their libraries. We have added a few to the list:

The Pro-Slavery Argument, containing the papers of Hammond, Harper, Dew, &c., edited by Simms. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co.

The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign, by H. C. Cary. Philadelphia: A. Hart.

Liberty and Slavery, by Prof. Bledsoe. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co.

Bible defence of Slavery, by Priestley. *Slavery ordained by God*, by Rev. F. A. Ross. Philad.: Lippincott & Co.

Fletcher's Studies on Slavery. Natheez: Jackson Warner.

Slavery—Scriptural and Statistical, by Stringfellow. Richmond: J. W. Randolph.

A Southern view of Slavery, by Dr. N. Adams, of Boston.

Defence of Negro Slavery, by M. Estes, of Columbus, Missa.

Domestic Slavery Discussed, by Dr. Fuller, of S. Carolina, and Dr. Wayland, of Rhode Island. Boston: Kendall & Lincoln.

Philosophy and Practice of Slavery, by Wm. A. Smith, D.D., of Randolph, Macon College, Va. Nashville: Stevenson & Owen.

Slavery and the Slave Institutions of the South, being volume 2 of the Industrial Resources of the South and West, by J. D. B. DeBow.

The American Citizen, by Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont. New York: Putney & Russell.

Cannibals All, or Slaves without Masters, by Geo. Fitzhugh, of Virginia.

Negroes and Negro Slavery, pamphlet by Dr. J. H. Van Everie.

A modern Presbyterian's second Letter on Slavery, by Nathan Lord, of Dartmouth College.

The Cabin and Parlor, by J. J. Randolph, of Virginia.

Clara; or, Slave Life in Europe: from the German, translated by Archibald Allison. Harper & Brothers.

Negro Mania, by J. Campbell, 1851.

The White Slave; or, Memories of a Fugitive: Boston, Tappan & Whitman.

The Mud Cabin; or, Character and Tendencies of British Institutions, &c., by Warren Ishman: New York, D. Appleton & Co.

White Acre and Black Acre. A case at law, reported by J. G. Esq., a retired barrister of Lincolnshire, Eng. Richmond, Va., J. W. Randolph.

South Carolina in the Revolutionary War. Being a reply to certain misrepresentations and mistakes of recent writers, in relation to the course and conduct of this State. By W. Gilmore Simms, Charleston, S. C., S. C. Courteny.

The Hiring and Slave, and other Poems, by Wm. J. Grayson, of Charleston, South Carolina, McCarter & Co.; with valuable illustrative and statistical notes.

Blair's Ancient Slavery.

Slavery and the Church, by Thos. J. Taylor, 1851.

Inquiry into the History of Slavery, by Rev. T. C. Thornton, of Miss., 1841.

Climatology of the United States and of the temperate latitudes of the North American Continent, &c.

J. B. Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia, provide us with a copy of one of the most beautiful and substantial works issued from the press of this or any other country. It is in the finest style of the typographical art, and is illustrated with numerous superb engravings, lithograph colored charts, etc. The volume is the result of the labors of Lorin Blodgett, whom the public well knows in connection with several recent reports upon climatology. It embraces a full comparison of the climates of our own, and the other American climates, with those of Europe and Asia most especially in regard to sanitary investigations, agriculture, and engineering, with isothermal and rain charts for every season. A vast amount of statistical matter is added, representing the meteorological observations of the United States condensed from all sources of information.

In a very short time hence it is our intention to present a summary of the valuable information embraced in Mr. Blodgett's work, but in the meanwhile, cordially recommend it to the student and the man of leisure, as well as of science, in every section of the country.

Those of our subscribers who preserve their numbers of the Review, and believe that they will have a future value, ought not to neglect the opportunity of completing their Volumes or Series of the Work. We have still a great many duplicates of particular months and years, although others are unfortunately wanting. If any one should have the time and inclination to hunt up his numbers, and will, by letter, inform the office at Washington City what are wanting, they will be speedily supplied, on almost any terms that will be satisfactory to the party. Orders also can be registered at the New Orleans office, which has a bindery attached.

A few sets of the Industrial Resources may still be ordered; 3 vols. \$6, postage free.

Our subscription list is stationary. It is in the power of every friend of the Review, with a little effort, to send us a new name, and thus largely increase our lists and save us from the continued expense and annoyance of sending out 'canvassing agents.' Will you begin the work? For \$10 we will send to three persons for a year; for \$15, to five; for \$30, to ten.